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ABSTRACT

This annual compilation presents four papers on different aspects of the history of higher education in Europe and the United States. The first paper is "The Rights of Man and the Rites of Youth: Fraternity and Riot at Eighteenth Century Harvard" by Leon Jackson. This paper argues that the lines of division in the student body at eighteenth-century Harvard were drawn between two competing understandings of friendship and association prevalent during this period and analyzes social order and disorder in the college between 1788 and 1794. The second paper is "The Era of Multipurpose Colleges in American Higher Education, 1850-1890 by Roger L. Geiger. This paper focuses on small multipurpose colleges and the demographic and economic factors which encourages both their rise and eventual decline from 1850 to 1890. The third paper is titled: "A "Curious Working of Cross Purposes" in the Founding of the University of Chicago" by Willard J. Pugh. It reviews the founding negotiations among various groups wishing to found a first class Baptist university; the roles of such individuals as John D. Rockefeller and William Rainey Harper; and the institution's early commitment to research. The fourth paper is "Patterns of Access to the Modern European Universities: The Social Origins of Students" by Fritz Ringer. This paper critiques the assumption that expanded enrollment since the early nineteenth century was a reflection of democratization and provides data from Germany, France, England, and Scotland to support a two-stage process of expanded schooling in which little increased access to the most favored occupations results. Also provided is a review essay by W. Bruce Leslie, "The Academic Revolution Across Three Cultures,". An annotated list of recent dissertations in the field is included. Each of the four major papers contains extensive reference notes. (DB)

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History of Higher Education Annual

1995

Volume Fifteen

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On the cover: The first home of Juniata College in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania (1877-1879). Begun as a "Normal College," Juniata was the first successful college of the German Baptist Church of the Brethren, also known as the 'Dunkards.' Juniata was a typical founding of the era of Multipurpose Colleges.
Photo courtesy of Juniata College.

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The Rights of Man and the Rites of Youth: Fraternity and Riot at Eighteenth Century Harvard

LEON JACKSON

During the academic years 1788-1797, Harvard's Hancock Professor of Hebrew, Eliphalet Pearson, kept a very special diary. In it he sought to record each and every instance of tumultuous and disobedient behavior in the nation's oldest and most prestigious college, as it came to his attention. The years in question were evidently ones that kept the professor at his diary with depressing regularity. Day after day, and week after week, Pearson chronicled the assaults of young students on their putatively cherished mentors:

> Decr. 9 [1788]. . . . Disorders coming out of chapel. Also in the hall at breakfast ye same morning. *Bisket, tea cups, saucers,* & a *knife* thrown at ye tutors. At evening prayers the lights were all extinguished by powder and lead, except 2 or 3. Upon this a general *laugh* among the juniors — From this day to Decr 13 disorders continued in hall and chapel, such as *scraping, whispering,* & c.[1]

And so it went on, week after week, and year after year: emetics in the drinking water, dead dogs dropped into the well, stones thrown through windows, the chapel bell broken, candles stolen, drunken abuse of the tutors. Soon the onslaughts expanded to include not only verbal violence against faculty, but physical violence within the student body itself. Factions formed for or against the student agitators, and eventually these came to blows. Walking to chapel one morning in 1793, a college student recorded seeing "an Effigy hanging by a rope from a tree in the college yard representing *Judas*, or *Perkins*, a senior, supposed to be the founder of [an] informing club in the college, and today I have seen his Execution advertised."[2] Academic life became so fraught, that one College proctor took to sleeping with a loaded pistol under his bed in dread anticipation of attempts on his life. He was probably not alone in his fears.[3]

Had Professor Pearson had both the time and the temperament, he might have filled a dozen or more volumes, chronicling the increasingly violent tides of disturbance at Harvard and other colleges in the early Republic. And indeed, many historians have stepped in to take on just such a task. A slew of recent books and articles has now made it quite evident that the fifty years between 1776 and 1826 were the most "dangerous" in the history of American higher education.[4] Disruptions ranged from surliness and noisy atheism, through acts of minor sabotage and vandalism, to arson, theft and the public horsewhipping of unpopular tutors. And if professors at the time scratched their heads in an attempt to explain the prevalence of such tumult, then their descendents in

the academy have been no less perplexed. A variety of explanations have, however, been forwarded. Some have argued that the disruptive elements were the children of the wealthy; others that they were the children of the poor or of parvenu entrepreneurs.[5] Some have seen the youth of the protagonists as a major explanatory factor; others have laid blame at the feet of older students held back from early admission to college.[6] Some have argued that there is an inherently confrontational element within the very structure of student life; and others have looked to very specific grievances such as poor food, poor teaching, and an inadequate curriculum as possible catalysts for disruption.[7]

The range of (often conflicting) theories offered should not suggest a lack of historical grip on the problem of student disturbances, so much as indicate that a variety of causes were at work simultaneously, goading some to violence while delimiting such pugilistic options for others. A sound account of student disturbances in the early Republic should certainly take account of all the above-mentioned factors, and by so doing might arrive at a relatively nuanced account of student life in this period. Historians badly need such a synthetic appraisal, but such an undertaking is beyond the scope of this essay. The following work is simply a prolegomenon to such a study. In the pages below, I argue that any future account of college life will be fundamentally flawed and inaccurate in its findings unless it takes into consideration the role of student societies and cabals in the making and breaking of riotous occurrences. While a certain amount has been written about student fraternities in the early Republic, and an even more modest output has touched on eighteenth-century understandings of sociability and friendship, no one has yet put these strands of scholarship together to consider how such understandings impinged on the evocation of order and disorder in the antebellum college.[8]

It is the major argument of this paper that the lines of division in the student body at eighteenth-century Harvard were drawn between two competing understandings of friendship and association prevalent during this period. The decision, or even the impulse, to riot was significantly shaped by how one understood friendship: in what it consisted, what it demanded, what it provided, where one sought it, and how one sustained it. Both visions of friendship grew out of a matrix of republican thought, yet one was a classical republicanism, the other a radical republicanism. Both envisioned a larger vision of society, yet for one it was corporate and institutionalized, and for the other individualistic and ad hoc. One vaunted the power of Reason, the other the efficacy of Will. Finally, each conception of friendship was heavily inflected by the notion of ideal gender roles, yet for one the ideal was of brotherhood, while the other vaunted manhood.

This paper seeks to reconstruct these visions of friendship as they existed at Harvard in all their rich and nuanced detail, before applying them to an analysis of social order and disorder in the College between 1788-1794. Through such an analysis, I believe it can be demonstrated that students who belonged to Harvard's secret societies—the champions of classical notions of friendship—were significantly less prone to riotous behavior than those who did not, even though they often shared the

same grievances and frustrations as their non-fraternal fellow students. It is my belief that we will only understand the dynamics of student life in this period when we have fully assayed the modes and models of friendship available to the protagonists of these much-studied but little-understood disturbances, and charted how the adherents of each vision interacted with the other.

THE PROBLEM OF STUDENTHOOD

The two decades that straddled the American Revolution were exceptionally difficult ones for Harvard College. A devastating fire in 1764 razed old Harvard Hall to the ground, destroying the library and its contents in the process; the Revolutionary War led to the removal of the College to Concord, resulting in a great loss of students and revenue; and after the Revolution it became apparent that the College Treasurer and republican hero, John Hancock, had mismanaged the funds of the school, resulting in a loss of more than a thousand pounds.[9] The College's crippling financial problems were only partially mitigated by the institution of public lotteries; the lack of adequate teaching staff meant that, on occasion, subjects were simply never covered; the quality of the food and board was atrocious; and on one occasion, the College closed down for two months owing simply to a lack of fire wood. All of these factors made the life of a Harvard student one of austerity and frustration. Indeed, the quality and style of life at Harvard very often generated *casi belli* for student disorders: there was a rancid butter riot, a kitchen access riot, several riots protesting academic rules, and almost perpetual friction with respect to the rigidity and austerity of the College regime. Yet although one may list a variety of monetary and material problems that generated a sense a grievance among students at Harvard, I think it is important to distinguish between such *casi belli* and the principled grievances that underlay them. I am arguing, in other words, that the various *causes célèbres* vaunted by the students might never have become the explosive material they did, had there not existed deeper problems within the structure of the College itself. Indeed, just such an argument was made by one of Harvard's riotous students, Willard Phillips, in his manuscript 'Anti-Don-Quixotism,' where he argued that complaints about food were merely symbolic. The Corporation, he explained, believed that the disturbances were to be attributed to students' "youth, inexperience, and want of consideration; or from the arts and influence of a few disorganizing spirits among them; and not from a general temper hostile to the government of College, and the rules of decency and decorum." But this latter cause was the real one, according to Phillips, for "when a general uneasiness prevails among the subjects all things are not right with the government."[10] At bottom, I would argue, the troubles at Harvard precipitated because the faculty had no clear sense of either the function of the College or the nature of the students they were attempting to teach. Or to put the matter somewhat more pointedly, the conceptions of studenthood they harbored were increasingly out of touch with the realities of New England in the late eighteenth century, and so exacerbated tensions that bedeviled the

College itself. To his great credit, Eliphalet Pearson, the anxious annalist of the student riots, realized this disjunction very early on. Even as he was recording the daily tumults at Harvard, he wrote a long and anguished letter to his friend Edward Holyoke in Salem, in which he explicitly addressed the question of the appropriate principles upon which a college government might be run. "I take it to be a maxim in politics," he wrote, "that that system of jurisprudence will be most satisfactory, & the most productive of good, which is best suited to the nature of society, for whose benefit it is established." The two dominant models of polity, he went on, were the civil/political and the familial/patriarchal, yet many were hard pressed to say whether a College polity "ought to be denominated *domestic*, or *civil*, or *sui generis*, or *mixed*."[11] Pearson's problem, and one of the fundamental causes of disturbance in the eighteenth-century college lay in precisely this realm of categorization. Professors were hard pressed to decide what form a college government should take, only because they found it impossible to determine the precise nature of the college student they sought to govern.

The problem lay in the fact that the eighteenth century experienced an immense flux in its perception and understanding of human development. In both religious and legal treatises, it is true, distinctions between infants, children, youth, the middle aged, and the old were frequently made. Yet this terminological precision notwithstanding, the articulate early eighteenth-century thinker was apt to make a more strictly binary distinction between childhood and adulthood. The rationale behind such a division was, as Joseph Kett has argued, primarily economic. A child was one who lived at home and depended upon family for subsistence; an adult was, conversely, one who lived away from home and maintained a relative degree of financial solvency and independence. In an age when parents frequently lacked the resources to feed and clothe family members without sacrifice, material criteria made more sense in separating boys and men than those based upon physical maturity.[12]

Students drove a wedge between this neat child-adult dichotomy. Their status can thus be usefully associated with what the anthropologist Victor Turner has called the liminal: a category of person who "elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space." Liminal entities "are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial."[13] Through the course of the eighteenth century, as more and more colleges were established and the student population burgeoned, a liminal period between childhood and adulthood came to be grudgingly acknowledged, institutionalized, and denominated "youth," yet youthood itself remained charged with ambiguity.[14]

Almost by definition, students fell into the capacious and somewhat troubling category of youthood. They were neither producers, nor wholly dependent consumers; rather, they stood midway between the two. More than children, but somewhat less than adults, they occupied a sort of developmental gray area. College in the eighteenth century was thus, quite literally, a no-man's land.[15] It was for just such reasons that

Pearson anguished over the precise form that college government should take. Nor was the debate purely academic. Questions concerning the nature of the student and structure of the college were informed by a practical concern for the future of the young nation. According to the prevailing tenets of republican political philosophy, only the economically independent were safe enough from bribery and corruption to be considered full citizens of the polis. Thus students were discouraged from political activities and self-determination out of consideration for the status quo of the country, to say nothing of the well-being of the campus. On the other hand, however, students were acknowledged to be the cream of America's youth, and heirs to the political mantle; and to this extent their politicization and socialization were cautiously encouraged.[16]

Educational theorists of the eighteenth century sought to elide this problem by describing the course through college as a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood. As with other rites of passage, this one began with separation from former life (matriculation), passed through a marginal phase (student life), and led to a final aggregation into adult community (commencement). The purpose of college was to make men of boys and citizens of non-citizens.[17] Yet if college was designed to engender a transformative experience, then it still begged the question of student categorization, and left an embarrassing and frequently rowdy *tertium quid* in its midst. "Too many are hurried to university, before they can estimate the value of a publick education," wrote John Clarke, in discussing the tenuous ideal of youthood. "Too young for reflection, and too old for the restraints of fear, they require all the wisdom of [College] government to keep them in tolerable subjection."[18] It was precisely a lack of categorical precision and concomitant lack of wisdom on the part of the College authorities, I should argue, that led to the conditions that encouraged student rioting. Although liminality did not *cause* the students to riot, it did lay the foundations for a system that made public disturbance an attractive and effective means of protest.

THE PROBLEMS OF STUDENTS

In order to test the hypothesis that anxious liminality lay at the root of student misbehavior, we need only examine the writings of the students themselves. As befit liminal beings, they frequently complained of their marginalization in terms that suggested emasculation or arrested growth. In a rousing republican poem of 1769, a student implored "the sons of H******d then/to let them [i.e., the tutors] know, that they are sons of men." In reality, however, as another unhappy youth put it, the new student at Harvard was expected to "shake off the man, and assume the mere scholar," where the phrase "mere scholar" implied an unsatisfactory state between childhood and manhood. A third went further still, stating that the College rules tended to enslave students, and "degrade them to the position of schoolboys."[19] Indeed, almost every aspect of the student's life at Harvard was shaped by the faculty's perception of student liminality, according to which college youth were, if more than schoolboys, still less than adults.[20]

The example of pedagogical theory is instructive. According to eighteenth-century philosophers, the basis of intellectual development lay in the faculty known as Reason. Reason was the capacity that enabled an individual to discriminate between the truth and falsehood, between the beautiful and the repulsive, and between right and wrong. As adherents of the school of "rational intuitionism," Harvard professors believed Reason to be an inherent faculty of the human mind, yet one that needed to be nurtured, developed and protected. As a contemporary essayist put the matter: "Cultivated and undebauched, reason discerns and approves the things that are excellent; applauds the exercise of piety and the practice of virtue, as highly befitting rational creatures; and condemns vice as unbecoming and mean." In short, the essayist argued, "Reason is the characteristick of man."[21] Yet what of those who were not quite men? In another essay, the same author described studenthood in no uncertain terms as that "season in life when the spirits are in the briskest flow, and when the passions are the most indulgent, and the whole animal machinery is playing its pranks against reason, virtue and order."[22] In sum, and according to such thinking, lack of restraint meant that students could not qualify as men. The minds of children and youth were constantly under threat from the passions: those surly and disruptive feelings that focussed on selfish and short-sighted gratification of the baser appetites. Neither children nor men, the students of Harvard hung in a developmental limbo. While they might readily be shaped into young republicans, they were equally susceptible to the blandishments of tyrants and infidels, fads and factions.

Alive to the threats of passion and pride, Harvard's pedagogues sought to craft a curriculum that was at once rationalistic and moral, and that instilled discipline and rigidity.[23] Emphasis was laid on the Classics, with Greek and Latin forming a large part of the curriculum. Some rudimentary attention was also paid to metaphysics, natural philosophy, and divinity. Appropriately enough, the centerpiece of the eighteenth-century curriculum was the course in moral philosophy.[24] Ordinarily taught by the President of the College, the moral philosophy course emphasized the rational basis of right thought and right action. It was here, above all, that students were to learn the arts of restraint and probity. Optional classes were offered in both Hebrew and French, but other than these, there were no electives. The basic technique of teaching was the recitation of memorized passages from the various texts: a method that was held to discipline the faculties of the mind even as it instilled sound and moral wisdom. Students were also taught to declaim in public, since the skills of oratory were held to be vital to those who were to be the citizens of a republic. And public speaking competitions were instituted in order to encourage a sense of competitiveness among the students. The result of this republican zeal was a lifeless and uninspiring curriculum that failed to address the needs of either pre-professionals or the scholastically inclined.

Student James Kendall lambasted the whole notion of the Classical curriculum of Greek and Latin. At "venerable HARVARD," he wrote, "we behold thousands of dollars expended, and vast accumulations of time consumed for the attainment of—what? If we call it a species of coin, it is not in currency; it serves ne[i]ther the purposes

of commerce, nor of domestic intercourse. Yet it is suffered to occupy one half the circle of academic studies; while many useful, pleasing and important sciences are scarcely admitted within the consecrated walls."[25] William Austin agreed. At Harvard, he wrote, "the votary of the belles-lettres and the lover of philosophy, the poet and the mathematician, the witty and the dull, are all expected, nay, obliged, to pursue the same course, to breath the same air, and be subject to the same discipline."[26] Even those who supported the Classical curriculum were appalled by the methods of teaching employed, and shared a contempt for what Joseph Dennie called "that nonsensical syllogistical mode of reasoning which the united *wisdom* of the President and Tutors prescribes."[27] John Quincy Adams, for example, pointed out the worthlessness of recitations in which a student simply regurgitated "the two first Lines" of a paragraph, leaving "the rest for the Tutor to explain, which he commonly does, by saying over again the words of the author."[28] To dull materials and an inane method of teaching them were added an excessively rigorous schedule that kept a student on his toes for hours at a time. A typical day was described by John Quincy Adams in his college diary for 1786:

> This morning at 6. we went to Prayers, after which we immediately recited. This took until 7 1/4. At 7 1/2 we breakfasted, at 10 we had a Lecture on Divinity from Mr. Wigglesworth; . . . At 11 we had a Philosophical Lecture from Mr. Williams upon the mechanical powers...At 12 1/2, Dinner. At 3, an Astronomical public Lecture upon the planet Mercury . . . At 4. again we recited, and at 5, attended prayers again, after which there are no more exercises for this day, but we are obliged in the evening to Prepare our recitation for tomorrow morning.[29]

Such was the academic regime held best by the faculty for the training of young minds which were otherwise all too apt to stray into dangerous studies or general profligacy.

Concern to limit and shape the direction of intellectual inquiry is also seen in the College's library policy. While Harvard possessed one of the largest and richest collections of books in the nation, access to its holdings was severely restricted. Only Seniors and Juniors were allowed to visit the library. Visiting times were restricted to two hours, once every three weeks, and the students were permitted to withdraw no more than three volumes per visit. The selection of freely circulating books was, moreover, strictly limited to those on a faculty-approved list. Students who wished to withdraw books not on the list required a special letter from either a tutor or the president before being allowed to withdraw them.[30] The rationale behind both the approved list and the limitations on access was not so much a concern for the fabric of the books, but (as with the curriculum) for the fabric of the students' minds. As the introduction to Harvard's 1773 catalogue of approved books explained, most of the

Library's books were "above the comprehension of Younger Students." Hence the "briefer Catalogue, to wit, of Books which are better adopted to their use."[31] In 1791, the College government pushed this idea to an extreme by publicly forbidding any student to buy or read Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.[32] As if to ensure the hegemony of the College curriculum, the *Laws* also expressly forbad students from seeking any tutoring or instruction outside the College walls, on pain of a heavy fine, or in the case of repetition of the offense, degradation or rustication.[33]

Emphasis on restraint and control of student behavior extended beyond the classroom and the library and into the wider realm of student activity. Indeed, one of the most striking features of college life in the eighteenth century was just how thoroughly well-regulated it was. College in the eighteenth century very closely approximated what sociologist Erving Goffman has called a "total institution," this being "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life."[34] The College *Laws* laid out a schedule that defined a student's entire day from waking to retiring. Each day began at six o'clock with mandatory attendance at Chapel, services beginning well before sunrise during the winter months; moved through a 30 minute breakfast in the Commons; and then proceeded to a full day of classes. Evening Chapel and dinner in Commons rounded out the day, after which students were required to withdraw to their rooms to study. After nine at night, students were expected to be in their own residence and all activity was to be curtailed. At no time was a student permitted to deviate from the schedule or its dictates. The ringing of the chapel bell was used to regulate and advertise the schedule and make sure that all members of the College community were aware of the time, and roving tutors were also employed to make sure that that students obeyed the rules.

Because the rules of the College were unpopular, and because students could not be trusted to abide by them without threat of reprisal, the government instituted a variety of punishments for law-breakers. For minor infractions of the rules, there were a range of fines ranging from a penny for arriving late at Chapel to twenty shillings for leaving town for more than a week without permission. More serious crimes demanded more serious punishments. These included (in roughly ascending order): private admonition and public admonition, degradation, suspension, rustication and expulsion. Degradation entailed the lowering of a student's academic standing in his class. Those suspended were required to leave the school for varying periods of time and study with a minister, while those rusticated had, in addition, to receive a good report from their pater familias before they were allowed to return to College and were degraded upon returning to Cambridge. And finally there was expulsion, which was reserved for the severest of infractions. Among the many crimes for which strict punishments were offered, the *Laws* listed "contempt of the lawful authority of the College," "violence, or any heinous insult, to any of the Governours of the College," and bringing "dishonour and disturbance" to the College.[35]

Perhaps the most oppressive aspect of the College rules was their utterly non-negotiable status. The College Government dictated its laws from on high, and student commentary on them was almost, by definition, considered an impertinence. Occasionally students presented petitions or made a deputation to the President or faculty. In December 1787, for example, a number of students visited President Willard to dispute "an unjust pecuniary punishment" levied against them for tarrying in the dining hall "a little while after supper." Although Willard promised the students a further "hearing," he defaulted on the promise, and the more than thirty petitioners were fined a hefty ten shillings each without further ado.[36] Indeed, the faculty and tutors seemed to pay scant attention to the students at all, outside of policing their minds and their movements.

Explicit rules delimited the nature and tenor of student-faculty interaction. "The President and the Professors were never approached," recalled one otherwise very content student, "except in the most formal way, and upon official occasions; and in the college yard (if I remember rightly) no student was permitted to keep his hat on if one of the Professors was there."[37] Indeed, when President Willard was approached by a student, it was his unerring habit to ask "Well child, what do you want?"[38] With a student body that included some "children" aged 27, this could not have been perceived as other than inaccurate and demeaning. Relations with the tutors were even more strained. Most of the tutorial staff were fresh out of College themselves, and were rarely more than a few years older than their charges. In some cases they were younger than the oldest seniors. Yet because of their salaried, independent position, they were considered men, while the students under their tutelage were deemed children, or at best, youth. In order to assert their authority, and maintain a sense of differentiation from their charges, the tutors tended to adopt a crushingly supercilious attitude toward the students. In a letter to his friend at Harvard, Joseph Dennie commended a rare tutor, Thomas Thompson, "who disgraces himself, by descending from the heights of his genius and virtue, to associate with solemn blockheads."[39] The aloofness of the teaching staff has been explained by Robert A. McCaughey, who argues that professors and tutors at Harvard only slowly developed an ethic of professionalism. Even in the 1820s, the majority of the teaching staff were insiders—locally-born and Harvard educated, but with limited academic aspirations. Most tutors did not hold their position for more than a few years, while the position of professor was rare enough to be something of an anomaly. For both this led to status anxieties *vis-à-vis* both the students and the larger community, and resulted in a harsher enforcement of the College regime.[40]

Failing to define specifically the nature of the students in their charge, the tutors and professors were scarcely able to construct a functional self-image. In this confused and confusing environment, student grievances were forced underground where they festered, and where resentments grew to the point of explosiveness.

In his diary for 1793, student Daniel Appleton White recorded a particularly memorable encounter between a disorderly student and the College government. "This morning," wrote White, "Leonard, [a] junior, was rusticated, and after sentence read to him, he put on his hat and desired the President to proceed, who thereupon ordered him to leave the Chapel. But he replied 'By no means—go on Sir, and don't be so big, but tell me the whole story, &c.'"[41] Leonard's insolence and backchat were highly motivated, and displayed a clear contempt for the notion of students as children. By donning his hat, desiring to hear "the whole story," and demanding that the President be not "so big," Leonard was suggesting that he was socially and intellectually the equal of an adult such as Willard and his professoriate. Such encounters were rare, but we need not therefore suppose that the sentiments expressed were unique to Leonard alone.

Of course there *were* those such as Leonard who spoke their mind when they felt they had nothing to lose, such as when they were being punished or graduated. One student, upon being degraded, announced that "he should leave a society, the government of which is actuated by *malice*, & whose decisions are founded in *prejudice*," while another simply seized a large cane and swung it around and around, shouting "It is all a damned lie; you are a pack of devils, and I despise you."[42] Others felt comfortable expressing their frustrations to their fellow sufferers. Joseph Dennie, who was suspended in 1789, wrote to a College friend of the delights of rural life: "Here are no interruptions, no *unseasonable* morning prayers, no Abbots, and no damned fools."[43] And finally, we have instances of anonymous written critiques: William Austin's *Strictures on Harvard College* (1798), which comprised the most systematic indictment of Harvard in this period; Willard Phillips's manuscript 'Anti-Don-Quixotism'; and an anonymous poem, entitled *A True Description of a Number of Tyrannical Pedagogues* (1769). All make it clear that students harbored a variety of grievances against the Harvard regime. Topics of contention included: poor food, poor teaching, an inadequate curriculum, rigid laws, haughty tutors, partial professors, and lack of redress for any and all grievances. Nor were the students lacking in solutions. As Benjamin Church wrote of an unpopular tutor in his Commonplace book in the 1750s:

> If he attempts to box, let him attempt in vain,
> Or hold his Hands, or box ye Fiend again:
> Strike where he Strikes: to quit ye Battle scorn,
> But Stroke for Stroke and threat for threat return.[44]

Yet as sociologist James C. Scott has argued, one of the prevailing features of oppressive institutions is their tendency to "deny subordinates the luxury of negative reciprocity: trading a slap for a slap, an insult for an insult."[45] To directly attack the College or its representatives was to face immediate and massive reprisals. It is more typical, according to Scott, for those living under oppressive systems to express their feelings anonymously, in order to avoid recrimination, or to express them obliquely,

veiling their true sentiments behind a facade of compliance and docility. The 'weapons of the weak,' as Scott has called them, typically include euphemistic criticism, anonymous threats, strategic sabotage, and foot-dragging, all of which one finds at Harvard in the eighteenth century. After a night of deliberate and destructive sabotage around the College, student John Henry Tudor confided to his diary: "I have been thought by the government a very *steady* fellow. But they have acted so infamously lately, that as the scholars always come off badly when they are independent, *sneaking* methods are justifiable."[46] Tudor was able to get away with his sabotage safely, precisely because he was so far above reproach in the eyes of his betters. The "sneaking" was always best perpetrated by the allegedly "steady."

Yet the very gap between such anonymous acts and the public personae of their perpetrators makes the former hard to decode. Scott argues that "sneaking" acts only become meaningful when framed by the "hidden transcript" of subaltern grievance. And, indeed, interpreting the students' acts in the light of their more obtrusive verbal criticisms, one can see both existing on the same spectrum, and embodying the same ideological criticisms of the Harvard regime. Yet even when such a contextualizing frame is not readily available, one can discern a criticism of the official notion of studenthood, for as Erving Goffman has explained: "To forgo prescribed activities, or to engage in them in unprescribed ways or for unprescribed purposes, is to withdraw from the official self and the world officially available to it. To prescribe an activity is to prescribe a world; to dodge a prescription is to dodge an identity."[47] If we look closely at the disorderly behaviors of the Harvard students, then, it will become apparent that many felt the same way as Leonard, Austin, and Phillips, nursed the same grievances, and held the same ideals, but simply lacked the temerity or articulateness of their brethren.

Among the many varieties of obtrusive disorder at Harvard, we can identify four main categories: group rowdiness, individual acts of sabotage, material appropriation and theft, and specific violations of the rules, each of which can be interpreted as embodying an ideological critique of the governance practiced at the College.

Group disorders have often given the impression of being irrational or undirected expressions of anger. Daniel Appleton White, for example, supposed that they were the result of excessive drinking, while for other, older, interpreters they were held to be the result of a sinful disposition.[48] It seems much more likely, however, that the student disorders were the result of specific grievances, for they seemed to occur again and again at the same junctures: when unpopular edicts were handed down, when lectures were particularly dry, and when the food was especially unpalatable. Again, they tend to crop up at those points where the students as a whole felt themselves being overly dominated by the rules.

Group disorders had the advantage of relative anonymity and flexibility: several of a crowd could create brief disruption and then blend back into the throng without identification.[49] To assure their anonymity, *agents provocateurs* tended away from the verbal. When entering and leaving both the Chapel and Commons, they resorted to

jostling and pushing.[50] Sometimes this rowdiness verged on sabotage, as it did on those occasions when those within a room would deliberately block the door to impede ingress and cause havoc. More often, however, it seemed simply to be an expression of resistance to being herded in and out of buildings. In other shows of group disorder, students scraped their feet, dropped coins, laughed derisively, and whistled to show their boredom and anger. More than this was unsafe. Students also developed a language of hoots and animal noises to convey their feelings. Tutor Alden Bradford was assailed with hisses and a "low *goose*-like manifestation of displeasure," whenever he prayed in the Chapel, and Eliphalet Pearson reported "certain gutteral sounds . . . beside some whistling" when he stood to preach.[51] The use of these inarticulate noises, as mentioned, allowed the students to express their disapprobation quickly and safely, from the relative anonymity of a crowd. The animal noises in particular carried a very specific and conventional set of meanings. As White records in his journal, they were sometimes used even when tutors were not present. One day in Commons, he recalled, the lamb "was *strong* and *unsavory*, exciting all sorts of *animal* noises among the students in the Hall, in imitation of *sheep* & c—kicking legs of mutton about and throwing one into the College yard. When the tutors appeared, all of course, were careful to avoid detection, and the shameful transaction probably passed off, if not without investigation, yet without any notice adequate to a prevention in future."[52] In this instance, and possibly in others, we see a collective articulation of what James C. Scott calls the "hidden transcript" of the oppressed; in this case the students' mocking suggestion that they were being fed food that was not fit for animals, let alone men. The point was more than metaphorical, for according to one student "it seems almost be a maxim among the Governors of the College, to treat the students pretty much like brute Beasts."[53]

These collective vocalizations of dissatisfaction were both the result of, and tended to reinforce, a group mentality predicated upon shared grievances. Their infectious and spontaneous nature suggests a sense of frustration that was shared by many, if not all, who were present. Pearson referred on several occasions to nearly a whole class indulging in hooting and laughter, and the comparative safety with which such demonstrations could be made probably meant that they were the most widely participated in form of protest among the members of the student body.

In addition to the spontaneous disorders described above, one also finds many accounts of sabotage. Like the crowd noises and jostling, sabotage was an anonymous form of resistance: an action in which the agent was always one remove from the scene of the crime. And again, as with the practice of mobbing and jeering, it was always targeted at specific areas of College life. The most frequent target for student saboteurs was the Chapel in Harvard Hall. Symbolically, the Chapel was a locus of official power. It was where the students met every morning to pray according to the dictates of the College's congregational polity; there, too, the President, professors and tutors appeared, in what was a daily show of power; in the Chapel the students were preached to by the College authorities and public punishments were handed down; the Chapel

housed the bell by which the daily schedule was regulated; and finally, the morning Chapel service was the first and hence most important event in the daily schedule.[54] To the extent that the morning service or the operation of the Chapel could be disrupted, the whole College routine could be delayed or possibly brought to a standstill. This point was hardly lost on the students. One popular act of sabotage included stealing or damaging the bell during the night, thereby ensuring that students could not be awakened for services.[55] On several occasions the Chapel candles were stolen so that the pre-dawn services had to be conducted in the dark; these also made yet further disorders easy to perpetrate and hard to ascribe to identifiable students.[56] When neither bell-breaking or candle-snuffing were possible, students stole the Chapel Bible, so that the preacher was not able to offer a homily upon any given text.[57] At their most damaging, student saboteurs were able to accomplish all three at once; when none were possible, students would throw stones through the windows of this detested structure. Attacks on the Chapel expressed a generally disruptive and destructive attitude on the part of the saboteurs, but also showed them striking out at the most visible manifestation of the College's power base.

A third form of disorderly behavior at Harvard was theft. Acts of student larceny in the eighteenth century were almost entirely confined to the theft of material provisions such as food and fire wood, and such items were almost always stolen from the College or town rather than from other students.[58] The reasons for a high incidence of food theft were fairly self-evident. By common consensus, the food served in Hall was bland at best, and at worst completely inedible. Following a riot over bad butter in 1766, nine barrels of butter were deemed unfit for consumption and another three "allow'd for Sauce only." Fifty years later another riot was sparked by a dinner consisting of fish and rotten cabbage. "The provisions were badly cooked," wrote student Joseph Thaxter, "the Soups were dreadful we frequently had Puddings made of Flower and Water, and boiled so hard as not to be eatable."[59] Commons was seen as a focal point for establishing College decorum, however, and for this reason if no other, both students and tutors were forbidden to dine elsewhere without the permission of the President or professors. Even though there was a Buttery where students could buy extra provisions, such as sugar, biscuits, butter, and cheese, the cost was often prohibitive, and credit strictly limited to twenty-four shillings per student per quarter.[60] Practically speaking, the hungry student had three options. He could tolerate the food in Commons; he could sneak into town and take an illicit second meal at Bradish's or Blood's Tavern; or he could steal food from wherever it was available. Often a student did all three. To the extent that they had already paid for their board, and were required to attend Hall whether they ate or not, all students were, *de jure*, "in commons." The option of buying a second meal at Bradish's or Blood's, while appealing, was expensive, and doubly so if one was caught and fined by a tutor.[61] Moreover it rankled to be paying two times a day for the privilege of eating well only once. In any case, few students could afford to eat in town with any regularity. Most were fairly poverty stricken, as is made evident by the frequency with which they were granted absence

from classes to teach school. Thus students took to theft. Harrison Gray Otis recalled that in the 1780s it was common for students to make snares out of wire to catch and cook geese. Others were less secretive. In February, 1789, a group of students burst into a townsman's house "insisted on his dressing a Turkey, & threatened to strike him for resisting." They then travelled to Menotomy (now Arlington) where they "exchanged their turkey for beef stakes." More commonly, however, food and wood were taken from the College itself. In the 1750s, tutor Henry Flynt's cellar was regularly raided for its beer and brandy, while in November of 1793, hungry students made away with two pounds of coffee, twenty pounds of beef, two hundred and twenty pounds of butter, a pale of cider and some plates. The plates were later returned.[62] Occasionally food theft must have been undertaken out of sheer starvation. It seems much more likely, however, that appropriation of food and firewood were reflexive indications of what E. P. Thompson has called the eighteenth century's "moral economy," according to which one took what one had paid for by means fair or foul.[63] As Willard Phillips put the matter in 1807: "There is [a] law in the nature of things as binding as truth and unexceptionable as reason, which requires that wholesome palatable food be provided for the Students. . . . They knew that board was an article of contract between themselves or their parents and the Government [of the College], on one part was to be provided, on the other a price was to be paid for it. If the price was that of wholesome food they knew themselves deprived of a right."[64] What the students were not provided with by the College, as part of their rights, they unflinchingly stole from it in the name of this moral "law."

Individual violations of College laws by individual students are the hardest to interpret in a political light, and this is because, in truth, they often lacked a political motivation. Virtually every student at Harvard incurred fines for missing chapel services, arriving tardily, skipping classes, and failing to complete academic exercises. Again, one finds in the Faculty Records innumerable instances of rowdy parties, drunkenness, and protracted absences from the College. It is quite likely that most of these represented little more than youthful exuberance, social exploration, and a testing of the boundaries of legitimacy. To the extent that the students could avoid detection or harassment by the tutors, they seemed content to keep their tumultuousness 'in house.' Disturbances escalated, however, and took on a political tone, at the point at which the tutors or professors intervened and sought to take action. What almost inevitably followed was a series of increasingly hostile reprisals on the part of the students, taking the form of sabotage, violence and vandalism against the College. The faculty's zeal for order and restraint coupled with the students' excessive concern that they be left to their own vices and devices led the College to a state of almost perpetual guerilla warfare. Behind all this tumult one can see the students clamoring to establish their identity as men in the face of their official status as youths.

FOUR DISTURBANCES AT HARVARD

At this juncture it may be useful to move from taxonomy to narrative and look at four instances of protracted disorder at Harvard between 1788 and 1793. By so doing, it will be possible to see not only the strategies of the dissident students, but also the causes of their disorderliness and the dynamics of their confrontations. It should be noted at the outset that these were by no means the only instances of disorderly behavior at Harvard during the years under consideration, only the most sustained or interesting examples.

The disturbances of the academic year 1788-1789 began innocuously enough with a drunken student party on the night of December 4, 1788.[65] There had been an exhibition that day, with students presenting disputations and orations for the faculty; most of the students were probably celebrating the passing of this event.[66] An especially boisterous gathering in the rooms of two juniors, Roger Vose and Benjamin Whitwell, led to a visit by tutor Samuel Webber, who asked them to quieten down. As soon as he had left, however, the noise greatly increased, compelling him to return again. Webber then asked the students to break up their party immediately, whereupon two students—James and John Sullivan—refused to leave. Two more tutors were called and these, too, faced the righteous ire of the students. Names were taken and the tutors retreated. This small encounter was, however, enough to trigger six months of protracted conflict that was little short of a guerilla war. The day following the party, a snowball was thrown at Webber while he prayed in the Chapel, and that evening another party, this time of sophomores, was closed down, leading to yet further friction between tutors and students. Because the tutors had had the misfortune to discipline members of three out of the four classes, they met uncommonly well-mobilized and unanimous resistance. Before the week was out, every tutor in College had had his windows broken. The faculty met on January 6 to investigate the infractions, privately admonished James Sullivan, and compelled John, who had been drunk, to sign a confession of guilt. The reading of this confession on December 9 in the Chapel was the final straw for the students. Not only had their harmless fun been interfered with on two occasions, but one of their number was now forced to submit to a ritual of public humiliation. During the reading of the confession, according to Pearson, "there was such a scraping" that the President "could not be heard."[67] At breakfast that day there was an all-out riot in which crockery and cutlery were thrown at the tutors, at chapel in the evening the lights were extinguished, and at night stones were hurled through many windows. The disorders continued all week. The following week the tempo increased: Professors Pearson and Wigglesworth were stoned in their lectures and the Chapel was ransacked by the students. On December 20, the faculty decided to crush the rebellion by suspending Jonathan Bowman six months for breaking windows, John Howard six months for blowing out the Chapel candles, and by degrading Abraham Ellery to the bottom of his class for stone throwing.[68] Rather than cowing the students, however, this simply provoked them to yet greater heights of disorder. Ellery stood up and denounced the President and faculty in the Chapel (for which he was yet further punished), guns were

fired in the Yard at night, and yet more windows were broken. From its inauspicious beginnings at Whitwell and Vose's ill-starred party, the disorders spiralled out of control: for the next six months there were acts of violence and vandalism almost every day, and the fire was only dampened by the eventual suspension of two students (Benjamin Trapier and William Read), the rustication of a third (Daniel Russell), mass finings, and the timely arrival of summer recess. The pattern seen in this and almost every other disorder of this period was one of faculty discipline and student reprisal, followed by harsher disciplinary actions and yet more destructive retaliations on the part of the students. As Willard Phillips put the matter: "it has always been customary among the Students to betake themselves to . . . disorders when they thought a Classmate injured."[69] The chain reactions engendered by faculty/student confrontation clearly suggests that the two groups were operating under almost wholly incompatible conceptions of justice, the enactment of one simply provoking the response of the other.

The disturbances of 1791, by contrast, began with the institution of an unpopular new College rule regarding public examinations. In an attempt to "animate the Students in the pursuit of literary merit and fame, and to excite in their breasts a noble spirit of emulation," the Immediate Government introduced a series of oral examinations for all classes, to be conducted by the professioriate along with the members of the Corporation and the Overseers. All subjects were to be covered, and those who excelled in the examinations were to be "recommended to the peculiar favours and honours of the University," which is to say that they would receive scholarships and commendations at graduation. Those who declined attending the examination were to be "fined a sum not exceeding twenty shillings, or . . . admonished or suspended."[70] The whole idea of the public examinations proved to be extremely unpopular with the students, but for two different reasons. In the first place, it was held to be unseemly for the upper two classes to be examined in such a public way. This had never been done before, and as such it violated the unwritten traditions or customs of the College. Because students had no written rights or charter, college "customs" were an embodiment of liberties as such, and a violation of a custom such as this was, *de facto*, an infringement of liberties. Several earlier disturbances had begun in just such a way, for as Willard Phillips explained: "at College precedent is considered as weighty a consideration as expediency at other places."[71] There was also the issue of grandfathering. According to one student, it was "a very impolitic thing to enforce an examination upon classes, which entered before the law was in being."[72]

The second reason for student hostility toward the exams was more substantive. Many believed that the standards used by the faculty in evaluating student attainments were unnecessarily rigid and made no provision for individualism or, to use the students' term, Genius. In what was essentially a proto-Romantic argument for creative originality, the students claimed that the academic award system forced those desirous of literary recognition into mindless conformity to outmoded aesthetic and intellectual standards. True creativity was crushed, while a debased literary form of pandering took its place. "Parts," or literary honors, became, in the words of one student, "the political

engine of [College] government.'"[73] More practically, the exams tended to be incredibly superficial. According to the calculations of President Willard's son, each undergraduate could be expected to undergo approximately two minutes of examination per subject studied; enough time to falter horribly and make mistakes, but not enough to show Genius or talent.[74] By turning scrutiny on all students at once, the honors system provoked anguish and frustration among both the literarily ambitious and the scholastically mundane alike.

Uniting as a collective, the senior and junior classes petitioned the Overseers for exemption from the examinations, but the Board overruled their plea, and the faculty forged ahead.[75] The students struck back. On April 11, the day before the first round of the examinations were to take place, a plot was hatched by three juniors—Justin Ely, William Sullivan and Benjamin Trapiert—to sabotage the proceedings by placing a powerful laxative in the Commons water supply. This was done on the following morning, and the results were appalling; during the examinations, as the faculty records note, "a great number of those who breakfasted in Hall were puked, and some of them violently." In fact about one hundred and fifty students "left the hall, some in a slow, others in a hurried manner, but all plainly showing that their situation was by no means a pleasant one." In an attempt to avoid implication, the conspirators drank heavily from the tainted water themselves, but one of them having been seen loitering near the copper boilers, the ruse was exposed and the culprits captured.[76]

The following day, sophomore Henry Jones threw a stone through the window of the examining room, showering the professors, President, and visiting dignitaries with an explosion of broken glass, and striking Governor Hancock's chair. The faculty were quick in responding. Jones was expelled the following day, Sullivan and Ely were suspended, Trapier (a persistent offender) was rusticated, and five other students were fined and admonished for window breaking offenses and generally disorderly behavior.[77] The disturbance was rapidly quelled for two reasons. Firstly, students were mindful of the severity of the punishments handed down: the College almost never expelled or rusticated a student where suspension or admonition would do. And secondly, the new rules clearly affected the student body unevenly. While some felt their creativity was being unduly scrutinized, and others believed that their sloth was about to be publicly revealed, a substantial number were willing to work with the new system in the confidence that they would benefit from the awards promised them. Nevertheless, disturbances on this issue continued sporadically and often violently for the next five years, until the system was eventually abolished.[78]

The third example of disorder at Harvard also came about as the result of the institution of a new rule in 1791, this time, however, concerning the arrangements for serving food in Commons. The problem began when the steward complained that many students coming out of Chapel in the evening were going directly into the kitchen and helping themselves to food rather than waiting to be served upon by the College waiters. Access to wholesome food in substantial amounts was, as we have already seen, a point of great contention among the College students, and no doubt their

invasion of kitchen space was in part prompted by a desire to get the food they felt they deserved. Thus when the faculty determined that a new serving counter was to be erected that would stop students getting into the kitchen area to help themselves, they encountered great resistance.[79] For the week following the imposition of the new rule there was great disorder in Commons, with students throwing food, overturning tables, and literally forcing their way into the kitchen to get what they wanted. Again the College acted swiftly and severely, rusticating one (Thomas? Bowman), suspending two (Thomas Paine and S. Gardiner Whipple) and admonishing three (Charles Angier, John Appleton, and Francis Cabot Lowell).[80]

The fourth and final example of disorder at Harvard was also the most complex and bizarre. The problems began on November 6, 1793, when three students smashed open a pantry window and stole coffee and sundry provisions from the College store. The following week, a cellar was broken into and significantly larger quantities of food taken (described above).[81] Ordinarily, food theft was not associated with non-dietary grievances by the students, nor was it used as a punitive gesture, but in this case it seemed to represent wider issues of discontent. The date of the first break-in is a crucial clue for such an interpretation. In the first place, the initial break-in occurred the night before Thanksgiving, and it is evident that the food was taken for the purpose of celebrating that event. Less obvious is the fact that the previous evening had been Guy Fawkes Night. By popular tradition, it was a day for revelry, bonfires, and general disorder, and among the students, too, it was a flashpoint for disturbances.[82] The College firmly forbad bonfires (which in any case were a customary gesture of student anger) and just before the 5th, the Immediate Government threatened dire consequences for anyone caught celebrating on Guy Fawkes Night. Unhappiness at this peremptory edict might explain the two break-ins; certainly it would go a long way toward explaining why the first two acts of theft led almost immediately to a far greater wave of disorder.

The problems began early on the morning of the 18th, when a basket of candles was stolen while the Chapel bell was being rung, thereby forcing the students to attend services in the dark. That night, a group of students broke into the Chapel belfry, dismantled the bell, and heaved it out of window, causing it to crash through the library roof. On their way out, they stole the preacher's Bible, broke the clock, and for good measure smashed a window. The following night the replacement Bible, costing twenty dollars was stolen, and the night following that, yet another disappeared.[83] Possibly because the provocation for these acts was not glaringly egregious, they failed to garner universal support. In any case, many felt that they were an insult to the College and to the student body, and after the third Bible had been stolen, the members of the Junior and Senior classes decided to form a Society to Discourage the Perpetration of Crimes and put an end to the disorders.[84] The founder of the organization, Joseph Perkins, made up a subscription form which circulated among the Junior and Senior classes, getting forty-one names, at which point he presented the list and a statement of intent to the faculty.[85] At evening prayers on the 23rd, President Willard announced

the existence of the society opposing disorders and made known their "determination to expose in future as far as they may be able, the Authors and Abettors thereof, that they maybe brought to condign punishments."[86] The announcement was greeted with hisses and yells by some, and with silence by others. The existence of the Society marked a wholly unprecedented and highly threatening rupture within the student body. Loyalty was among the highest of student virtues, and even those who disapproved of another's actions were bound by tradition against informing on them. As Timothy Fuller, Jr. wrote of another disturbance only five years later: "Custom has established it as a point of honor among students never to give information against each other, and although I felt inclined to contribute to the punishment of the violators of decorum in a sacred place, yet I felt that I must keep silent."[87] To organize an informing society was a total breach of student custom.

The dissident students were not to be intimidated, however. As if to show their intention of continuing the campaign, they stole two Indian artifacts from the the yard of Professor Winthrop the following evening, and carefully boobytrapped a brass chandelier in the Chapel. The following night, the students were rowdy and unsettled and when the heavy chandelier fell to the floor mayhem broke loose. Following the service, dissident students blocked the Chapel door from the outside and demanded that it be opened by the "informing club." The challenge was not taken up. The following morning, the students were greeted by the gruesome sight of an effigy in the likeness of Perkins hanging from a tree in the Yard, with the word "Judas" hung on a placard around its neck. At breakfast the effigy was carried into hall, and later that day an anonymous note was posted announcing Perkins' imminent execution.[88] The use of the effigy and execution were replete with meaning. As E. P. Thompson has explained, such 'Charivaris' were customarily adopted in the eighteenth century to punish those guilty of violating community norms; in this case the violation of the custom of silence. The custom was taken in deadly earnest. As Thompson writes: "To burn, bury or read the funeral service over someone still living was a terrible community judgement, in which the victim was made into an outcast, one considered already dead. It was the ultimate in excommunication."[89] The dissidents had done neither with the students nor with the faculty, however. Two days later, scuffles broke out leaving the Chapel. The "high bucks," wrote one student, "when shut up in the Entry, thumped some of the informing society." Outside in the Yard, senior Jesse Olds was savagely beaten by another student and a huge crowd gathered to watch until the fray was broken up by tutor William Barron.[90]

Despite their setbacks, however, the informing society managed to do their work. On December 1, a rumor began to circulate among the students that the thieves had been identified. The day of reckoning came soon. For stealing food, the College rusticated senior S. Gardiner Whipple, and sophomores Aspinwall and Wetmore; and for abetting the crime, suspended sophomores Russell, Lador, Charles Cushing, and Peter Thacher. For stealing Professor's Winthrop's Indian images, blocking the Chapel doors, punching a senior, and threatening others, sophomore Amory was rusticated, and upon

protesting his punishment, was summarily expelled. For disturbances in the Chapel, the College suspended sophomores John Leighton Tuttle, Samuel Welles, and freshman Thomas Fargues, and publically admonished freshman George Wingate. For punching a classmate who was trying to leave the Chapel, student Appleton was suspended five months. For stealing three Bibles from the Chapel, junior Leonard was rusticated, and finally, for the original raid of November 6, juniors Israel Eliot Trask, Thomas Cordis, Ebenezer Lawrence, and sophomore David Smiley were all suspended.[91] Thus ended what was possibly the most sustained and vicious spate of disorders at Harvard in the eighteenth century.

THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE HARVARD STUDENTS

To summarize thus far, there seem to have been two basic provocations for disorderly behavior at Harvard, underpinned by a single conceptual grievance. On the one hand, students resented the crass and authoritarian way in which the educational agenda of the College was forced upon them, especially insofar as their efforts to negotiate or petition the authorities were so singularly unsuccessful. On the other, they tended to lash out at the overly officious interference of the tutors and professors in their social and extra-curricular avocations. The two were often hard to separate because both were predicated on the students' conviction that they should be treated as men and not children or animals. Men had rights and rights could always be violated. And from the point of view of the faculty, too, there was little difference between an academic and an extra-curricular misdemeanor, since either one indicated a disregard for the due authority of the Immediate Government of the College and demanded instant punishment. Thus most disturbances, whether ideologically motivated or not, eventually took on a thoroughly political tone. The progression from pedagogy to politics was laid out with great clarity by William Austin: "Where a manly independence is construed into insolence and contempt of authority; and a meek spirit of passive obedience and non-resistance the only road to College honor . . . what are the State to expect? Courtiers or Republicans? Creatures or men?"[92] To students at Harvard, the issue became one of protecting their rights as men and citizens.

In mentioning Republicans, Austin referred, of course, not to the Republican party, but to the tradition of Classical Republicanism which functioned in eighteenth-century America as a powerful and cohesive language of politics and morality.[93] According to the tenets of this tradition, the well-being of the state depended on a virtuous citizenry; one, that is, that was willing to act publically and place the interests of the polis above those of any individual or group of individuals. Virtue, so the argument ran, was based upon property ownership, because only property owners were sufficiently independent to escape the blandishments of wealthy tyrants and self-serving factions; it was also predicated upon reason, since the ability to restrain the passions of greed and avarice

were essential to the smooth functioning of the state. To be a courtier, on the other hand, was to eschew virtue, for courtiers placed their own desires above those of the common good and sought to further these ends by selling their allegiance to the most promising power-broker available. Austin's juxtaposition of Republican and Courtier with man and creature was not incidental, since the definition of a virtuous citizen (financially and intellectually independent) was also that of a man, while that of a courtier implied unmanliness.[94] Within the Classical Republican tradition, the state was seen as being under constant threat from the passionate, including both tyrants and mobs: the former indicated too much power in the hands of government, and the latter indicated its total absence. A delicate organism that comprised the sum of its constituents, the republic might succumb at any time to vice and corruption, and so constant vigilance was required. History was littered with stories of states that had given way to luxury, licentiousness, and vice, or, on the other hand to tyranny and despotism, and by so doing had spiralled into destruction. Indeed, such narratives formed the backbone of the Greek and Latin curricula at Harvard.[95] Austin was implying, in effect, that to rob students of their independence, and to shackle them to a system too enamored of rigid conformity, as Harvard had done—in short, to treat students as less than men—was to train up a generation who would lack the backbone, manly independence, and republican virtue necessary to sustain the state. Moreover, it implied that the immediate government of the College was nothing less than a dictatorship.

Others were quite explicit. Students referred to an unpopular academic rule enacted in 1768 as a species of "Turkish Tyranny," knowing full well that the Turks were considered to be the consummately despotic nation. A year later, another student published a scurrilous poem offering "A True Description of a Number of Tyrannical Pedagogues." A decade or so later another writer, possibly John Quincy Adams, referred to President Willard as a "tyrant," while later still Joseph Dennie denounced the College's "pigmy despotism."[96] A common meeting place for protesting students between Massachusetts and Harvard Halls became known as the Liberty Tree, and unpopular rules were deemed "unconstitutional."[97] The language of Classical Republicanism offered a powerful explanatory paradigm that placed the relationship of students and tutors in a charged moral and political context.

Yet the language of republicanism provided not only a model of the ideal society; it also laid out an elaborate justification for rebellion and revolution, in the name of social survival. In republican eyes, according to Pauline Maier, the need to guard constantly against the encroachments of the licentious and corrupt made revolution an unfortunate necessity; this had been the ethical and moral basis of the American Revolution. But among the more radical Whigs, the same notion led to a belief in the "constant necessity of resistance." The need, Maier explains, "sprang from a fundamental human selfishness that led any man entrusted with authority to seek to expand his power and overrun its lawful limits."[98] To the student rioters, this was a powerful

argument, and it seems incontestible that such thinking both informed and shaped their actions. The constant use of the epithet "tyrant" by the students, makes it clear that they viewed their situation as one of embattled virtue fighting the encroachments of the power-hungry and vicious. Willard Phillips spelled out the situation with great clarity:

> The students as well as other people know that the benefactors of College made the foundation for their advantage united with that of the public, and not for the aggrandizement of individuals. Consequently when they suppose those invested with the offices created by their foundations neglectful of their trust, and sacrificing the interest and feelings of the students to their own caprice and prejudice, you might as easily make ravity tend upwards as suppress their resentment.[99]

The disorderly students saw themselves as men deprived of the rights of men, and fighting for their independence from tyranny and domination.[100] Perhaps the most compelling evidence for the existence of a republican mentality at Harvard is the fact that by the time the century had turned, it had become the target of satire by those who felt the idea had been entirely overworked. With great sarcasm, Joseph Tufts ridiculed the students' rhetoric of republicanism and their talk of manhood:

> What student that has the least tincture of humanity, would not feel his blood boil within him, at seeing the most severe and despotic power of the government exercised in sending into exile some of his comrads, for no other crime, perhaps, than drowning with a little noise the melancholy toll of the clock, striking the ghostly hour of midnight, and for just sallying out, and enlivening the dreary stillness of the night, by the cheerful tinkling, excited by the shattering to pieces a few glass windows. . . . The high resentment of some of the students at this horrid abuse in the government, was therefore just and manly.[101]

If students at Harvard tended to frequent acts of resistance and rebellion, then this can at least in part be explained by the fact that they lived in a society that explicitly sanctioned such acts; that had undertaken them at the national level; and that regarded them, *mutatis mutandis*, as nothing less than the very survival mechanism of a perpetually endangered political system. Thus, when Joseph Dennie wrote to a Harvard friend, imploring him to "Inform me of the College affairs, the Revolutions in our class & c.," we know that his reference to Revolution was anything but tongue in cheek.[102]

It goes without saying, of course, that the dissident students appropriated the language of republicanism to their own ends. Their understanding of the rights of men

resembled less that of an Adams or a Jefferson than a distinctly artisanal version of the republican tradition that had manifested in the works of Thomas Paine as well as in the mob actions in Boston in the 1760s and 1770s. Artisanal republicanism was an egalitarian, populist, rights-based radicalism that meted out summary justice to those who would deny its believers their privileges.[103] By the same token, the dissenting students' conception of manhood was equally specific, and correlates with what E. Anthony Rotundo has called the model of the "masculine achiever" in contrast to the ideal of the "Christian gentleman."[104] The achiever ideal saw man as a fiercely independent individual: persistent in ambition, aggressive in business, and clear-headed in judgement. In the sequestered domain of the College these values translated into a desire to think for one's self, to study when and how one liked, and to socialize without harassment. They also resulted in a keen conviction that students were entitled to certain political rights, including the right to address grievances and have a fair and open system of justice. When denied these "rights of men," the students resisted on terms, and in ways, informed by a radical republican vision.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF STUDENT LIFE AT HARVARD

Although we now have a clear idea of both how and why the students rebelled, the genesis, structure, and maintainance of the students' organization is much less evident. As sociologist Jo Freeman has written: "Masses alone do not form movements, however discontented they may be. . . . If they are not linked in some manner . . . the protest does not become generalized but remains a local irritant or dissolves completely. If a movement is to spread rapidly, the communication network must already exist."[105] The same thesis is essentially true for the students at Harvard: where some students protested, others did not, and while sometimes disorder was sustained, at other times it was sporadic. In order to get to grips with the nature of student disorder, it is necessary to address the following questions: In what ways did students mix at Harvard? What forms of friendship existed? What opportunities were there for association? What constraints, if any, shaped modes of student affiliation? How unified was the student body? And if there were competing forms of socialization at the College, how did these interact *vis-à-vis* the struggle with the Immediate Government?

One thing is certain: that the newly arriving Freshmen did not bring any substantially intact social networks with them. The Admission Books and faculty Records suggest that incoming students were essentially strangers to one another. While a handful were educated together at the Latin School in Boston, most came from a generous scattering of towns and villages around Massachusetts and, to a lesser extent, Connecticut and New Hampshire, with a few hailing from the South and from the West Indies. Educated by local ministers and recent graduates, the new students arrived in Cambridge with very little social baggage.

In order to understand the ways in which people become friends, it is necessary, according to Claude S. Fischer, to have a firm grasp on primary social contexts

available to them; that is, "where they see each other, the tasks they share, who else is involved, the contingencies of their relation, and so on."[106] For students at Harvard, the primary social context was the class system. Although there were four classes constantly in residence at Harvard, casual socialization between them was limited. Almost from the moment a youth arrived, he was ritually isolated from the older students and defined as member of the entering class. At the beginning of each academic year the sophomores challenged the new freshmen to a group wrestling match; they also practiced various forms of hazing, such as throwing water over the sleeping first years and stealing their sheets.[107] More generally, there was a separation of the classes. Each class was assigned its own pastoral tutor, each class studied together, sat together in Commons and the Chapel, was examined together, and boarded together.[108] Students in each class, moreover, were immediately identifible on account of their differing dress. Freshmen wore jackets with plain button-holes and no cuff buttons; sophomores, plain button-holes with cuff buttons; juniors, button-holes with frogs (braiding), except at the cuff, and cuff buttons; and seniors, cuff buttons and frogs on all button-holes. After much resistance on the part of the students, the system was abolished in 1797.[109] Yet on account of this *de facto* segregation, students socialized almost exclusively within their respective academic classes.

The academic class was the most powerful unit of social organization legitimately sanctioned by the College, and indeed the *Laws* even went so far as to allow class meetings to be held upon occasion.[110] Among each class, accoring to Sidney Willard, "there grows up a strong, centralized feeling, as of many members of one body.... The whole class meets in democratic mass, as occasion for legitimate object requires, and, duly organized, they conduct their proceedings by parliamentary rules; so that no faction is likely to be strong enough to destroy the unity of the body. The only danger is that of subordination to a higher power."[111] The solidarity of the academic class is well captured in William Biglow's 1792 poem, 'Classology,' in which the members of the Class of 1794 are described partaking in a (drunken) party or "high go":

> Come on, merry lads, toss the bumper and bowl round,
> Throw follies and quarrels of schoolboys away;
> Let malice no longer becloud the glad soul round,
> But friendship enlighten the heavenly ray.
> With hearty compliance we'll form an alliance,
> And bid bold defiance to sorrow and wo;
> We'll ne'er be afraid, boys, though tutors parade, boys,
> Here's health to the blade, boys, who loves a HIGH GO.[112]

Certainly such sentiments reflected an important social reality at Harvard. It is noteworthy, for example, that the disturbances of 1793 polarized the students along distinctly class-based lines. The much-villified Informing Club was composed solely of members of the Junior and Senior classes (and indeed numbered almost every

member among its ranks), while the dissidents against whom they organized were comprised almost exclusively of Freshmen and Sophomores. It is evident, then, that class loyalties could pit student against student even as the undergraduates sought to do battle with the faculty. Equally significant to our examination of student mobilizations, however, is Bigelow's unhappy allusion to 'follies, quarrels and malice,' for in reality the classes were rarely as cohesive as the dissidents would have liked them to be. Rather, internecine squabbles and petty jealousies addled the student bodies, undermining their sense of unanimity and purpose as agents of resistance. If each class was a symbolic community, then it was one that more often than not failed to coalesce except in moments of great crisis.

It is evident that while students sometimes mobilized in the name of their rights, they did not organize their social life around a sense of shared grievance. Rather, they took personal loyalty as a point of common reference, and tended to remain within their own small groups of friends. Friendships seemed to be casual: based upon shared rooms, shared drinks, and shared exploits. If the dissident students' identity ideal was one of manhood, then their forms of socialization more nearly resemble what Rotundo has called "boy culture": free-wheeling, amorphous, anti-authoritarian and sometimes violent.[113] John Henry Tudor, who offered a disarmingly frank evaluation of his classmates in his diary for 1799, followed this pattern closely. He rated students most highly for their "generosity" and "independence," and then for their abilities, whether as a fighter or as a scholar. He despised the older and poorer students, and sneered at those from rural backgrounds as "dirty." Each semester he reevaluated his opinion, noting whether a student was either "same," "better," or "different." His opinions changed often and drastically. Such fluctuations led to the formation of often violently hostile factions within each class. Evaluating the popularity of student Joseph Stevens Buckminster, for example, Tudor wrote that he was "very much fished after. He is admired by one party, hated by another, & envied by a third."[114] If power lay anywhere, it was to be found within such 'parties' of students rather than within the classes or the student body as a whole. Yet the fragmented and fluctuating nature of these parties, and their tendency to indulge in infighting as much as resistence to the faculty, made them an almost helplessly centrifugal force at Harvard. Of course this does not mean that students did not perceive a shared sense of difference from the teaching staff—students who made friends with tutors were disparaged as "fishermen"—only that the difference did not give the students a corporate and oppositional identity. To use a Marxist distinction, the students were a group "in themselves," but only intermittently "for themselves." And this made intensive confrontations hard to sustain.[115]

When students did unite, it was either through loyalty to a wronged friend, or, at best, as a whole class. Ironically, then, the individualistic manhood ideal in whose name, and for whose privileges, the dissident students protested, made sustained corporate activism a near impossibility. Even more ironic, however, is the fact that the largest, best organized, and most secretive student group on campus was also the most conservative, the most villified, and most the succesful in its campaign against the faculty. This group was Phi Beta Kappa and it is to its history that we shall now turn.

PHI BETA KAPPA AT HARVARD

Outsiders knew little about Phi Beta Kappa. The internal workings of the group were shrouded in a well-designed and effective cloak of mystery. Nevertheless, it was common knowledge that the group opposed overt rebellion. Indeed the society made it evident that the good behavior of its members was a characteristic virtue. As Timothy Bigelow wrote of the Harvard chapter of Phi Beta Kappa in 1796: "Fifteen years have already elapsed since its first establishment here; During all which time, irregularities of conduct, riot, tumult and disorder have uniformly been discountenanced; and due subordination and a regard to order have been enjoined and practiced."[116] While we may doubt the extent to which Phi Beta Kappa actually served as a social pacifier beyond its own membership, both members and non-members alike *perceived* the society to be inherently opposed to student resistance, and indeed the fraternity itself became the target of student opposition on a number of occasions. What, then, was the Phi Beta Kappa? Who were its members? And why did it seem to be so openly opposed to acts of student resistance at Harvard?

Phi Beta Kappa was founded in Virgina in 1776 by a group of students at the College of William and Mary, for the stated purpose of promoting "social and improving intercourse." It was essentially a literary and debating society, tinged with masonic ritual, and decidedly secretive in its operations. Members of the society met once a fortnight in the room of one of the members, and presented forensic disputations, opposing compositions and extemporaneous speeches on a variety of literary, political, and religious topics. Food and (non-alcoholic) drink were provided, and the society also had a small library of works to which members could avail themselves. Although a minor organization at William and Mary, the group established chapters at both Yale (1780) and Harvard (1781) that flourished long after the Virginian organization had disappeared. In passing on the mantle to Yale and Harvard, the founders outlined their social vision in describing their organization as a "scion . . . ingrafted on the stock of friendship, in the soil of virtue, enriched by literature." Here, they told new members, "you are to look for a sincere friend, and here you are to become a Brother of inalienable Brothers."[117]

In its emphasis on the three intertwined qualities of friendship, virtue, and literature, Phi Beta Kappa was greatly indebted to the work and thought of a group of philosophers known as the moral sense school. Led in Scotland by Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith and David Hume, and in England by Lord Shaftesbury, the school took a stand against the cynical politics of Hobbes and Mandeville. So far from seeing society as an anxious and self-serving mechanism, they argued that humans were inherently sociable creatures who banded together less out of concern for safety than in order to satisfy certain inbuilt "social affections."[118] It was only through living in a society, for example, that individuals were able to gratify their desire to see and participate in those acts of benevolence towards which their inherent moral sense propelled them.[119] A man who lived alone, wrote Adam Smith, must of necessity have a stunted moral faculty.

> Bring him into society, and he is immediately provided with the mirror which he wanted before. It is placed in the countenance and behaviour of those he lives with, which always mark when they enter into, and when they disapprove of his sentiments; and it is here that he first views the propriety and impropriety of his own passions, the beauty and deformity of his own mind.[120]

As societies became more advanced and stable, so did their cultures and manners. Social interaction also improved the state of knowledge and science to an extent that individual endeavor was unable to achieve. And finally, society tended to promote wealth and property and the establishment of just laws. In short, and as Hutcheson put it, an individual's "principles, their curiosity, communicativeness, desire of action, their sense of honour, their compassion, benevolence, gaiety, and the moral faculty" developed best in society.[121]

Building on the ideas of the moral sense school, many eighteenth-century thinkers argued that the gregarious friendship was the most perfect form of social interaction. "The existence of society depends on the principles of friendship," wrote an anonymous essayist in 1789. "Were it not for the social affections mankind would have made slow advances toward civilization."[122] Friendships "call forth the noblest principles of the mind," explained another author; "these soften and humanize the heart, and make us better in every relation of life. —Cruelty, moroseness nor malice, can never take root in the breast, in which springs the seeds of true friendship."[123] An "intimate connection," wrote a third, "can only be kept up by a constant wish to be pleasing and agreeable. The nearer and closer that men are brought together, the more frequent that the points of contact between them come, there is the greater necessity for the surface being smooth, and every thing being removed that can grate or offend."[124]

If friendship was seen to be the fundamental form of socialization, then for many the club was, *mutatis mutandis*, the ideal form of society. Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, had sung the praises of the literary club as early as 1709 in his essay 'Sensus Communis: An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humor.' There he defined the "liberty of the club" as a "freedom of raillery, a liberty in decent language to question every thing, and an allowance of unravelling or refuting every argument, without offense to the arguer." Among friends, the possibility of easy debate gave access to the Truth. "We shall grow better reasoners," wrote Shaftesbury, "by reasoning pleasantly, and at our ease; taking up, or laying down these subjects, as we fancy."[125]

The founders and early members of Phi Beta Kappa wholeheartedly agreed, and believed that the society was ideally suited to promote the three attributes of virtue, literature, and friendship. Indeed, Phi Beta Kappa member Thadeus M. Harris repeated the moral sense philosophers' praise of social organization almost word for word in his discussion of literary societies, which, he argued, tended to "strengthen reason, to

confirm the judgement, and to excite emulation; to warm the heart with sentiment, and store the mind with information; and to lead philosophical precision, free from pedantry, and to complacency of manners, devoid of affection."[126] In short Phi Beta Kappa believed itself to be a microcosm of the ideal social arrangement.

Of course there were many societies and clubs at Harvard based loosely or otherwise on just such principles. These included a Singing Club, a Coffee Club, the Speaking Club, the Adelphoi Theologia, the Navy Club, and just a few years later the Hasty Pudding and Porcellian Clubs. In addition there was a military company known as Marti Mercurian Band, a fire fighting company known as the Engine Society, and a Graduate Debating Society, to say nothing of the smaller and looser clusterings of students within the College. Victor Turner has argued that for those passing through a liminal phase of development there is a great compulsion to form neophytic groups, to foster what he calls "communitas": that is, an affiliation based on "intense comradeship and egalitarianism."[127] His observation is borne out by the example of the Harvard students. In this closed and somewhat sterile academic environment, the "relish" for friendship, according to one graduate, was "like a violent appetite."[128] Yet this appetite was always justified on the strictest of moral grounds.

Although the Immediate Government of the College outlawed combinations and tended to look with suspicion on extracurricular gatherings as a whole, they tacitly condoned the student societies. Not untypically, Phi Beta Kappa came under official scrutiny during these years. In October 1789, a committee from the Board of Overseers noted "that there is an institution in the University, with the nature of which the Government is not acquainted, which tends to make a discrimination among the students," and it suggested "the propriety of inquiring into its nature and design." By the time this recommendation had been advanced, however, the eager-to-please organization had already handed a copy of its Laws and Constitution to President Willard for scrutiny.[129] The President found nothing objectionable in the society, especially inasmuch as several tutors had been members as undergraduates. A dour and antisocial man himself, Willard evidently still held the notion of social affections sacred enough to allow Phi Beta Kappa to continue.

Ironically enough, many students considered Phi Beta Kappa a pernicious organization. In 1787 members of the senior class boycotted the society's annual Public Exhibition, which was held in the Chapel.[130] In 1791, members of the junior and senior classes presented a petition to the Immediate Government of the College protesting the existence of Phi Beta Kappa on campus.[131] In a series of letters to the *Columbian Centinel* in 1793, a pseudonymous correspondent lambasted the society for its aloof and superior nature, and for letting loose a "spirit of faction and party" within the school.[132] And in 1796, the corresponding secretary of the fraternity, Samuel Shapleigh, requested that members of other chapters address their letters to him 'to the College Librarian' to avoid their being intercepted and destroyed by hostile students.[133] Some of this hostility can be ascribed to jealousy on the part of those who had been refused membership, but more generally it seems to have been provoked by a conviction that the society was a traitorous outfit that did not have the best interests of the students at heart. At bottom, the dispute was over two competing visions of social organization.

During the 1780s and 1790s, Phi Beta Kappa was condoned by the faculty and condemned by many students. Viewed from a limited, but nevertheless very important perspective, it was indeed a conservative organization. Its unstinting emphasis on "good character in the litterary as well as [the] moral line," for example, made it congenial to the Immediate Government, even as it roused the opposition of the dissident students and the jealousy of the dissappointed aspirants for membership. I would like to suggest, however, that the members of Phi Beta Kappa acknowledged many, if not all, of the grievances expressed by the dissident students: that they resented being considered children; denied that they lacked rationality; loathed the tedium of the classroom; detested the vile food served in Commons; and rejected the authority of Immediate Government. John Henry Tudor, who spent his early years at College as a dissident saboteur before joining the fraternity, clearly illustrates this continuum. In 1799 he wrote: "Our commencement this year was miserable & truly college degenerates. But [the] day after will retain its seat within me while reason, flesh & blood continue. That day the ΦΒΚ [celebrated] & one day is worth years of torment."[134] So far from being at odds with the dissident students, the Phi Beta Kappans were in perfect concurrence with them. Theirs, I would argue, was a dispute over means and not ends.

Where the dissident students sought to protest the inadequacies of the College in an attempt to gain reforms, the members of Phi Beta Kappa accepted things as they were, and quietly instituted compensatory measures, constructing a social organization that consciously imitated, yet improved upon, the existing system at Harvard. Phi Beta Kappa had its own President and Officers, its own library and curriculum, its own laws and disciplinary code, and even its own commencement exercises. To an extent that has not yet been acknowledged, Phi Beta Kappa was a parody of the eighteenth-century college regime, seeking to ridicule by reversal the shortcomings of the parent institution. More importantly, however, it sought to overcome these flaws: where the College organized itself along paternalistic lines, Phi Beta Kappa was both democratic and egalitarian. The society paralleled the wider College at almost every point, making up for the inadequacies and anachronisms, the exclusions and the coldness of the official regime, with well-stocked libraries and well-filled pantries.

Groups such as Phi Beta Kappa were, as James McLachlan has suggested, quite literally, "colleges within colleges."[135] Of course, most of Harvard's societies and clubs functioned as partially compensatory organizations, making up for the failings of the College at large. Where Phi Beta Kappa stood apart, however, was in having a fraternal structure. Not only did the group offer an alternative and compensatory curriculum, it also offered a stable and determinate sense of male identity. Crucially, the basis of this identity was not adulthood, but brotherhood.

The way in which a determinate male identity was constructed is clearly seen in the Phi Beta Kappa induction ritual.[136] After having been proposed and approved by the members, the candidate was blindfolded, handed a sheet of paper, and led by the proposing member to the door of the room where the society was meeting. At the threshold, the escort was switched, the candidate seated and his blindfold removed.

Before him sat the members of the fraternity. Reading from the sheet of paper, the candidate thanked the President and members for the invitation to join a society that "has Friendship for its Basis, Benevolence and Literature for its Pillars," and in response the President gravely swore the candidate to secrecy. There then followed a series of questions for the candidate:

> 1st If upon hearing you dislike the principles of this Society and withdraw, do you promise upon the word of a Gentleman to keep them secret?
>
> 2nd Is it of your own free choice unbiassed by persuasion that you become a member of this Society?
>
> 3rd Will you approve yourself a worthy member of this Society by being a Friend to Morality & Literature?
>
> 4th Will you regard every worthy member of this Society as a Brother?
>
> 5th Will you assist them when in distress with your Life and Fortune?

If the candidate answered in the affirmative, then the President and society formally accepted him. The rules of the society were read, the secret handshake described, and the secret code used in writing the minutes explained. Finally a formal speech of welcome was offered by the President, that concluded with the following promise:

> Now then you may for a while disengage yourself from scholastic Laws and communicate without reserve whatever relations you have made upon various objects; remembering that everything transacted within this room is transacted *Sub rosa*, and detested is he that discloses it.
>
> Here too you are to indulge in matters of speculation, that freedom of inquiry which ever dispels the clouds of falsehood by the radiant sunshine of truth. — Here you are to look for a sincere Friend, and here you are to become the Brother of unalienable Brothers.

The key emphases of the Phi Beta Kappa ritual, as described above, were on liminality, fraternity, secrecy and rationality. Examined anthropologically, each can be seen as contributing to a determinate and corporate sense of male identity that differed

substantially from that adopted by the dissident students at Harvard. *Liminality*. The whole Phi Beta Kappa ritual is based upon the transition of a liminal being from one state of existence to another. According to Victor Turner, such rites of passage often involve a symbolic death and rebirth. In the Phi Beta Kappa ritual, this is seen in the summoning of the candidate, the blindfolding, and the changing of escorts at the threshold of the meeting room, all of which suggest an ontological rite of passage.[137] *Fraternity*. The new identity assumed by the initiate was definitively male, but based upon a synchronic rather than a diachronic model: Phi Beta Kappans stressed brotherhood rather than manhood.[138] The significance of brotherhood as a masculine ideal was three-fold. In the first place it was a wholly egalitarian identity, and as such it militated against the hierarchical structure seen in the College at large. In the second place, it was an enduring status that existed through time in a way that age-determined identities did not. And in the third place, it created an immense bond of loyalty and stability among fellow-members. Mary Ann Clawson argues that the brotherhood ideal arose in early modern Europe as a means of keeping apprenticed children within a familial context even after they had left home: trade guilds had both brothers and fathers. Among the marginalized, however, there was a greater tendency to create fictive kin groups that included everything but parents.[139] Harvard's Hollis Professor of Divinity, David Tappan, was fond of referring to the College as a "literary family," but for the members of Phi Beta Kappa it was a family that did better without fathers.[140] This is not to suggest, however, that the Phi Beta Kappans did not consider themselves men. They did. As Eric Hobsbawm points out in his examination of radical secret societies, the whole notion of an initiation presupposes the adulthood of the initiate who is "capable of making a conscious decision" whether or not to join.[141] *Secrecy*. Secrets, according to Georg Simmel, have not only a substantive meaning but also a functional quality. The very sharing of secrets creates a bond of obligation and a "reciprocal confidence" between individuals.[142] By inviting the candidate to hear the rules of the society, the members of Phi Beta Kappa extended a trust to him, and an obligation, that joined him with those he was considering joining. By revealing the arcana—the secret handshake and the secret code—the bond was solidified. In point of fact, the secrets themselves were of far less importance as information than as the ethical foundation of a neophyte community. In the words of Victor Turner, the special information revealed in rites of passage is always more than "an aggregation of words and sentences; it has ontological value, it refashions the very being of the neophyte."[143] Knowing was being and special knowledge constituted a special form of identity. *Rationality*. The ability to make an informed decision whether or not to join a fraternity, the capacity to keep privileged knowledge a secret, and the recognition that one was morally bound to one's brothers all bespoke, in the eighteenth century, the posession of a rational and ethical mind. And indeed, the purpose of Phi Beta Kappa was the excercise of Reason in pursuit of a moral community. As the fraternity President's closing remarks made clear, Phi Beta Kappa did not believe that the College at large provided the resources for a free and impartial pursuit of the truth. Rather, exploration

was impeded by "scholastic Laws." In part this was a result of the curriculum offered at Harvard, but more importantly it was a result of the fact that the College's teaching staff did not believe the students capable of fully rational inquiry. In true Enlightenment fashion, Phi Beta Kappa held that the club could provide an ideal forum for free debate.[144]

CONCLUSION: DIGNITY AND HONOR AT HARVARD

Phi Beta Kappa's vision of studenthood stood in sharp contrast to that prescribed by the Immediate Government at Harvard. The fraternity member was rational, loyal, and responsible. He was adult enough to make informed decisions and reliable enough to engage in organized decision-making. And given the fact that the members of Phi Beta Kappa almost never incurred the wrath or disciplinary action of the Immediate Government at Harvard, we have reason to believe that the social identity fostered by the group served as an adequate alternative to the official vision of the student as youth.

Yet if Phi Beta Kappa quietly opposed the faculty, then they were equally at odds with the dissident students. In almost every way, Phi Beta Kappa's vision grew out of the same intellectual and social matrix as that of the dissident students. Both based their sense of aspiration on a hybrid mixture of republicanism and enlightened rationalism; both saw determinate male identity as pivotal to their organization; and both resented the structure and substantial organization of late eighteenth-century Harvard. Yet to an astonishing degree, their solutions and alternatives differed. While Phi Beta Kappa drew upon a rich heritage of Enlightenment social thought to institutionalize their vision in the form of a fraternity, the dissident students lacked a clear sense of organization or corporate self-identity. Their coalitions were ad hoc and functional, and tended not to survive beyond the immediate circumstances that gave rise to them. Where Phi Beta Kappa sought to introduce elaborately integrative rites of passage, the dissident students eschewed ritual altogether, stressing what they *were* rather than what they could become. Thus secrets for Phi Beta Kappa were a form of social cement, bringing the group together as initiates of arcane knowledge; while for the dissidents, secrets were simply those items of knowledge that had to be kept from the Immediate Government for fear of reprisal.

At the greatest level of abstraction, the distinction between these two groups may be summarized through reference to the conflicting cultures of "honor" and "dignity."[145] In a culture of honor, personal worth is entirely coequal with the worth another bestows upon one; in a culture of dignity, personal worth is inherent and wholly unalienable. In a culture of honor, the insulted are morally, indeed almost ontologically, obliged to attack their insulter to reestablish their worth; in a culture of dignity, the insulted rose above insult and concentrated on assertion and mastery of self. Edward L. Ayers has applied this distinction to the North and the South in the antebellum period, but it seems equally pertinent to the dissident students and the Phi Beta Kappans at Harvard. The dissidents' sense of manhood was so precarious, and so shakily

dependent on the recognition of the Immediate Government, that they were compelled to respond to every insult (perceived and real) with an attack that would restore their standing in their own and in others' eyes. Theirs was a culture of honor. The Phi Beta Kappans' sense of worth, on the other hand, was ritually endorsed at the initiation ceremony, after which one became a "brother of unalienable brothers." Brotherhood was not something for which one had to contend in the same way one did one's manhood. This was a *sui generis* culture of dignity. The dissidents' looked outward for their identity, the Phi Beta Kappans looked within. In this simple distinction we see the basis for order and disorder at eighteenth-century Harvard.

The last great rebellion at Harvard took place in 1834. Like so many others, it began with a violation of student customs regarding recitation. Classroom confrontations led to expulsions; petitions were met with polite but firm rejection, the entire sophomore class was suspended; and, in a novel and wholly unwelcome gesture, threats of legal action were levied against the students. Like the unfortunate Joseph Perkins forty years earlier, President Josiah Quincy was hung in effigy in the College Yard, while seniors printed a circular denouncing his want of consideration and ability. The 1834 disturbance was crushed by an awesome show of arms and by Quincy's stolid refusal to back down in the face of harassment.[146] This was to be the last major disturbance of the nineteenth century.

One reason for a decline in rioting after this time is the fact that a revolution in higher education was slowly taking place. This study began with the observation that much of the tinder for College conflagrations was a result of the fact that those who taught and administered America's eighteenth-century schools had an unclear conception of their institutional mission; lack of clarity led to a confused and provocative perception of the students whom they taught; and the practices upon which these perceptions were based were highly galling to generations of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century students. As Ronald Story and a number of other historians have demonstrated, the 1830s and 1840s saw a marked tendency toward the professionalization of American education, and a concomitant elitism within the student body.[147] Greater emphasis was placed on the training and development of professors; much deeper consideration was given to the issue of curriculum; and, above all, a new understanding of studenthood began to emerge. Beginning with President John Thornton Kirkland, but even more strikingly under the administrations of Josiah Quincy and Jared Sparks, the barriers between faculty and students began to break down. Students began to receive the respect that they had spent the previous century lobbying for. Then, too, the students began to develop a new sense of identity that was largely fostered, as Story has shown, by an increasingly self-conscious sense of elitism. As the nineteenth century moved into its fourth and fifth decades, the "dirty" country students of whom John Henry Tudor had complained in the 1790s became rarer and rarer. Those who did enter Harvard at a material disadvantage were quickly assimilated in cultural if not in financial terms.[148] Student culture did not disappear, nor did the barriers between student and faculty evaporate. Nevertheless, student life did seem to take on a

significantly less combative tone after the 1840s. By 1851, when Benjamin Hall's *Collection of College Words and Customs*, was published, the world he described, and from which so much of the historical evidence for this paper was drawn, had become a violent and revolutionary era whose time had passed.

NOTES

[1] Eliphalet Pearson, Journal of Disturbances, 2, Pearson Papers, Harvard University Archives.

[2] Daniel Appleton White, Reminiscences of College Life, 1793-1797, 85, Harvard University Archives.This incident is also mentioned in Pearson, Journal, 18.

[3] Frank Otto Gatell, *John Gorham Palfrey and the New England Conscience* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963), 37. Palfrey used his guns as a proctor in 1817, but discharge of firearms by students is evident as early as 1788. See, Pearson, Journal, 5; White, Reminiscences, 91.

[4] This idea was first brought to historical prominence by David F. Allmendinger, 'The Dangers of Ante-Bellum Student Life,' *Journal of Social History* vii (1973), 75-85. The most significant works on college rioting are listed in the footnotes below.

[5] The notion that student disturbances were fomented by the scions of the wealthy was first suggested by Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1936), 179-180. For a more empirically-grounded study that reaches somewhat different conclusions, see Kathryn McDaniel Moore, 'The War with the Tutors: Student-Faculty Conflict at Harvard and Yale, 1745-1771,' *History of Education Quarterly* xviii (1978), 115-128. It should be noted, however, that Morison's impressions concerned the tumults of the early Republic, whereas Moore deals exclusively with the pre-Revolutionary period. Steven J. Novak argues that there is a qualitative difference between Harvard's colonial 'disturbances,' and her antebellum 'riots'; a view that seems to be based upon insufficient familiarity with the documents presented below, and that also begs the question of how one might objectively quantify violence and disorder. See *The Rights of Youth: American Colleges and Student Revolt, 1798-1815* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1977), 5-7.

[6] On youth as a precipitating factor in the riots of the 1790s, see Novak, *Rights of Youth*. Disruptions caused by 'mature' students are discussed by David F. Allmendinger, *Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth-Century New England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975).

[7] On the inherent (yet apolitical) radicalism of studenthood, see, for example, Lewis S. Fuer, *The Conflict of Generations: The Character and Significance of Student Movements* (New York: Basic Books, 1969); and Seymour Martin Lipset, 'Students and Politics' in *The Berkeley Student Revolt: Facts and Interpretations*, ed. Seymour Martin Lipset and Sheldon S. Wolin (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 1-9. Studies that focus on specific grievances include William C. Lane, 'The Rebellion of 1766 in Harvard College,' *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* x (1905), 33-59; Sheldon S. Cohen, 'The Turkish Tyranny,' *New England Quarterly* xlviii (1974), 564-583; James R. McGovern, 'The Student Rebellion in Harvard College, 1807-1808,' *Harvard Library Bulletin* xix (1971), 341-355; and Samuel Eliot Morison, 'The Great Rebellion in Harvard College, and the Resignation of President Kirkland,' *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* xxvii (1930), 54-112.

[8] The connections between student societies and social order were first adumbrated, and a subsequent expansion promised, by James McLachlan, 'The *Choice of Hercules*: American Student Societies in the Early 19th Century' in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1974), II, 449-494, esp. 474-475. The following analysis is greatly indebted to McLachlan's scholarship. My thinking in this account was also shaped by the experience of serving as Freshman Proctor at Harvard College between 1990 and 1993.

[9] On the impoverished state of the College in 1780, see Sidney Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood* (Cambridge: John Bartlett, 1855), I, 100-103.

[10] [Willard Phillips], Anti-Don-Quixotism, or, A Vindication of the Students with respect to the late Occurrences in Harvard. By Bartholomew Bystander [1807], unpaginated MS, Harvard University Archives.

[11] Eliphalet Pearson to Edward Holyoke, April 28, 1798, quoted in McLachlan, '*Choice of Hercules*,' 462, 463. Pearson, like most other eighteenth century professors, believed that the patriarchal/domestic model of governance was the most appropriate for Harvard.

[12] See Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), esp. 11-37; and Ross W. Beales, Jr., 'In Search of the Historical Child: Miniature Adulthood and Youth in Colonial New England, *American Quarterly* xxvii (1975), esp. 383-391.

[13] Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1977), 95.

[14] Kett, *Rites of Passage*, 29-31; Beales, Jr., 'In Search of the Historical Child,' 391-397.

[15] On the liminal status of college students, see Kett, *Rites of Passage*, 51-61; and McLachlan, '*Choice of Hercules*,' 462-466. On the conceptual confusions that this liminality could engender, one might note the example of student John Frye, who was prosecuted in 1770 for criminal violence, and described in court as "an Infant and Student at Harvard College." Quoted in Theodore Chase, 'Harvard Student Disorders in 1770,' *New England Quarterly* lxi (1988), 39.

[16] An excellent discussion of faculty-sanctioned student politicization is offered by David W. Robson, *Educating Republicans: The College in the Era of the American Revolution, 1750-1800* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985), 143-177. Novak goes so far as to suggest that student *radicalization* was considered acceptable. See *Rights of Youth*, 3-5.

[17] Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 94-95. The terms separation, marginalization, and aggregation are drawn from Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1909).

[18] John Clarke, *Letters to a Student in the University of Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Boston: Printed by Samuel Hall, 1796), 27.

[19] Anon., *A True Description of a Number of Tyrannical Pedagogues, A Poem. Dedicated to the Sons of H******d* ([Boston]: n.p., 1769), 8; [William Austin], *Strictures on Harvard College. By a Senior* (Boston: Printed by John W. Folsom, 1798), 8; unidentified student, quoted in Sheldon S. Cohen, 'Harvard College on the Eve of the American Revolution,' *Sibley's Heir: A Volume in Memory of Clifford Kenyon Shipton* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1982), 182.

[20] My understanding of the faculty ideal of College life and of student identity is based upon an analysis of the various laws in effect at Harvard between 1788 and 1793. Until 1790, the *Laws of Harvard College* existed only in manuscript form. They were recited orally at the beginning of each academic year, and a copy was available in the Buttery at all times for students to consult. After 1790, no doubt in response to increasing tumultuousness in the College, the *Laws* were wholly reformulated and 700 copies printed for distribution to each member of the student body: an action which further exacerbated hostility on the part of students. The manuscript *Laws* of 1767 which operated (with subsequent emendations) until 1790, were reproduced and edited by Samuel Eliot Morison, 'College Laws and Customs,' *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* xxxi (1935), 347-382. After this point one consults *The Laws of Harvard College* (Boston: Printed by Samuel Hall, 1790). On the transition from manuscript to printed laws, see William C. Lane, 'Manuscript Laws of Harvard College,' *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* xxv (1923), 244-253.

[21] 'The Philanthropist. No. VI,' *The Massachusetts Magazine* i (June, 1789), 338. The philosophical exemplars of this position included Ralph Cudworth, Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart and Richard Price. On the American vogue for rational intuitionism, see Daniel Walker Howe, *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1805-1861* (Middletown: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1988), 45-68.

[22] 'The Philanthropist. No. III. Addressed to Students at Colleges and Universities,' *The Massachusetts Magazine* i (March, 1789), 140-141. Students' confessions of guilt, often penned by professors and merely assented to by the students themselves, refer often to the "exhilaration" or "distraction" of "the passions" as a leading cause of waywardness. See, for example, Faculty Records, VI (1788-1797), 5, 13, Harvard University Archives. For additional faculty discussion of unruly passions, see Eliphalet Pearson, Address to Students, May 21, 1789, Addresses and Exhortations to Students, Administrative Records of College Disorders, 1789-1809, Harvard University Archives.

[23] On the tensions between reason and passion in moderate educational theory, see Philip Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America* (New York: Meridian, 1977), 151-261.

[24] The most detailed analysis of the early Harvard curriculum, although it stops short of the period under consideration, is Thomas Jay Seigel, 'Governance and Curriculum at Harvard College in the 18th Century,' Ph.D. dissertation: Harvard University, 1990.

[25] David Kendall, An Inquiry "Whether the time usually spent in the study of the dead languages be usefully occupied," 52, Bowdoin Prize Essay, 1796, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[26] [Austin], *Strictures on Harvard*, 29.

[27] Joseph Dennie to Roger Vose, June 1, 1788, *The Letters of Joseph Dennie, 1768-1812*, ed. Laura Green Pedder, University of Maine Studies, 2d ser., xxxvi (Orono: Univ. of Maine Press, 1936), 8.

[28] Entry for June 13, 1786, *Diary of John Quincy Adams*, ed. David Grayson Allen, et al. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1981), II, 49.

[29] Entry for May 3, 1786, *Diary of John Quincy Adams*, II, 25.

[30] *Laws of Harvard College*, 42, 45-47.

[31] ***Catalogus Librorum in Bibliotheca Cantabrigiensi Selectus, frequentum in Usum Harvardinatum, qui Gradu Baccalauri in Artibus Nondum Sunt Donati*** (Bostoniae: Typis Edes & Gill, 1773), [3]. My translation is drawn from Keyes D. Metcalf, 'The Undergraduate and Harvard Library, 1765-1877,' *Harvard Library Bulletin* i (1947), 30. Thomas Jay Siegel has argued that library access privileges after the fire of 1764 marked an unprecedented liberalization of college policy, congruent with the faculty's realization of the need for students to explore specialized fields of interest. The overall trend to liberalization that he notes, however, would not have been readily apparent to students in the 1780s, nor would it have mitigated their perception of the library as an elite and restricted domain. See Siegel, 'Student Readers at Harvard in the 18th Century,' Paper delivered at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, September 19, 1992. I am grateful to Dr. Siegel for making a copy of his paper available to me prior to publication.

[32] Herbert M. Morais, *Deism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1960), 161 n. 5.

[33] 'College Laws and Customs,' 362; *Laws of Harvard College*, 34-35.

[34] Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), 11.

[35] *Laws of Harvard College*, 28; 'College Laws and Customs,' 359, 358.

[36] 'The Harvard Diary of Pitt Clark, 1786-1791,' ed. Ernest John Knapton, *Sibley's Heir*, 257 and n. 2 (Entries for December 8, and 10, 1787). For additional examples of (unsuccessful) student petitions, see Cohen, 'Harvard College on the Eve of the American Revolution,' *Sibley's Heir*, 182; and Entry for April 11, 1787, *Diary of John Quincy Adams*, II, 205.

[37] Joseph Story to William F. Channing, September 23, 1843, quoted in William W. Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1851), I, 49. See, 'College Laws and Customs,' 350; *Laws of Harvard College*, 35.

[38] Quoted in George P. Schmidt, *The Old Time College President* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1930), 78.

[39] Joseph Dennie to Roger Vose, February 24, 1790, *Letters of Joseph Dennie*, 15.

[40] See Robert A. McCaughey, 'The Transformation of American Academic Life: Harvard University, 1821-1892,' *Perspectives in American History* viii (1974), esp. 246-255; and Kett, *Rites of Passage*, 55.

[41] White, Reminiscences, 93. "The colloquy between Leonard and the President was much longer than appears from notice of it," White added (95). I have punctuated White's account to facilitate easier reading.

[42] Pearson, Journal, 5; White, Reminiscences, 89-91.

[43] Joseph Dennie to Roger Vose, February 24, 1790, *Letters of Joseph Dennie*, 14. John Abbot was a tutor at the College.

[44] B. C., 'The Author's Advice' in Benjamin Church, Commonplace Book, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Boxing referred to the officially sanctioned punishment of boxing a student's ears. It was banned in 1755.

[45] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1990), 23. Scott's work has played an absolutely pivotal role in helping me form my understanding of student life at Harvard.

[46] John Henry Tudor, A Registry of College Adventures, 1799, 47, Harvard University Archives.

[47] Goffman, *Asylums*, 170.

[48] On alcohol as an alleged cause for riotous behavior, see Jonathan Fisher, Sketches of the Life of Rev. Jonathan Fisher, 1812, 25-26, Harvard University Archives; White, Reminiscences, 21; and Faculty Records, VI (1788-1797), 4-5. On sinfulness as a motivation for disorder, see Novak, *Rights of Youth*, 3-4. For a good contemporary example of such thinking, see Phillis Wheatley, 'To the University of Cambridge, in New-England,' *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (London: Printed for A. Bell, 1773), 15-16 (esp., ll. 24-30).

[49] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 150-152.

[50] For instances of jostling or fighting when moving between buildings, see White, Reminiscences, 34-36, 85, 87.

[51] White, Reminiscences, 41; Pearson, Journal, 4. On hissing as a well-entrenched convention, see [Phillips], Anti-Don-Quixotism; and [Benjamin Homer Hall], *A Collection of College Words and Customs* (Cambridge: John Bartlett, 1851), 161-162. Hall's work is the nearest thing we have to an ethnography of student culture at eighteenth century Harvard. I am currently working on a longer study of student culture at Harvard between 1707 to 1806.

[52] White, Reminiscences, 46-47.

[53] Entry for May 8, 1786, *Diary of John Quincy Adams*, II, 29. When served lamb for "five or six successive weeks," recalled a Harvard alumnus, the students "would often assemble before the Steward's house, and, as if their natures had been changed by their diet, would bleat and blatter until he was fain to promise them a change of food, upon which they would separate until a recurrence of the same evil compelled them to the same measures." Quoted in [Hall], *Words and Customs*, 76.

[54] "What an excellent institution!" writes one unrealistic essayist of the Chapel. "Surely, such well instructed and well discerning minds as yours, need no compulsive laws to assemble you into these hallowed seats at the hour of prayer!" See, 'Philanthropist. No. III,' *Massachusetts Magazine*, 138-139.

[55] On bell sabotage, see White, Reminiscences, 81, 89; Pearson, Journal, 12, 15. The tradition continued well into the next century. See, Kirk Boott to Eliza Boott, November 20, 1807, Welch Family Papers, Lincoln, Massachusetts. I would like to thank Nathaniel Welch of Lincoln for allowing me to consult and cite these letters.

[56] On candle snuffing, see White, Reminiscences, 81, 85; Pearson, Journal, 2.

[57] On Bible theft, see White, Reminiscences, 81, 83; Pearson, Journal, 6, 8, 11.

[58] In my discussion of theft, I do not consider acts such as bell and Bible stealing, which were motivated solely by a desire to sabotage the College schedule. The only other discussion of student theft that I am aware of is Kathryn McDaniel Moore, 'Old Saints and Young Sinners: A Study of Discipline at Harvard College, 1636-1734,' Ph.D. dissertation: University of Wisconsin, 1972, 186-187.

[59] Lane, 'Rebellion of 1766,' 44; McGovern, 'Student Rebellion in Harvard College,' 343; Joseph Thaxter quoted in Cohen, 'Harvard College on the Eve of the Revolution,' *Sibley's Heir*, 179 n. 6. See also the citations in n. 53. For a good discussion of Commons, see [Hall], *Words and Customs*, 71-76.

[60] *Laws of Harvard College*, 60-61.

[61] This happened very often. On one notable evening (April 6, 1792), no less than twenty-four students were caught surreptitiously supping at Bradish's and fined two shillings each. See, Faculty Records, VI (1788-1787), 144; *Laws of Harvard College*, 22.

[62] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 117; Pearson, Journal, 8; Corporation Records, II, 73; Pearson, 16. For earlier instances of food theft, see Moore, 'Old Saints and Young Sinners,' 171-172.

[63] E. P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century' in *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (New York: New Press, 1993), esp. 238-244; and 'The Moral Economy Reviewed,' ibid., esp. 336-351. Charles Tilly's gloss on Thompson is especially germane to the experience of the College appropriators: "The term 'moral economy' makes sense when claimants to a commodity can invoke non-monetary rights to that commodity, and third parties will act to support *these* claims" (338 n. 2).

[64] [Phillips], Anti-Don-Quixotism.

[65] The following narrative is based primarily on Pearson, Journal, 1-14.

[66] Writing in his diary in 1789, Jonathan Fisher noted that noisy parties were "common" in the wake of exhibitions. See, Sketches of the Life of Rev. Jonathan Fisher, 25.

[67] Pearson, Journal, 2.

[68] Faculty Records, VI (1788-1797), 10-11.

[69] [Phillips], Anti-Don-Quixotism.

[70] *Laws of Harvard College*, 16, 17, 17.

[71] [Phillips], Anti-Don-Quixotism. On the notion of custom as a body of unwritten rights, see E. P. Thompson, 'Introduction: Custom and Culture' in *Customs in Common*, esp. 1-15; and J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1957). Students, wrote undergraduate Pickering Dodge, believed it to be "their duty and their privilege to support ancient customs." Quoted in Morison, 'The Great Rebellion in Harvard College,' 67. For examples of student disorders being provoked by violation of such customs, see Lane, 'Rebellion of 1766,' 50-51; and Cohen, 'Turkish Tyranny,' 567. Harvard's customs were kept alive and commemorated for the most part through word of mouth. Ralph Waldo Emerson, for example, wrote a drinking song to commemorate the Rebellion of 1822. In other cases, however, accounts of disorders were penned with an eye to posterity, and manuscript copies handed down from class to class. See, for example, Lane, "Rebellion of 1766,' 43 n. 2; Chase, 'Harvard Student Disorders in 1770,' 27 n. 2; *Diary of John Quincy Adams*, II, 182, n. 1; and 'Editor's Preface,' *The Rebelliad; Or Terrible Transactions at the Seat of the Muses; A Poem in Four Cantos* (Boston: n.p., 1842), 6. For a pioneering account of manuscript culture at Harvard, see Jeffrey Walker, '"The War of Words" in Harvard's Class of '54: Collegiate Literary Culture in Eighteenth Century America' in *Early American Literature and Culture: Essays Honoring Harrison T. Meserole*, ed. Kathryn Zabelie Derounian-

Stodola (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 1992), 132-148. It is evident that accounts of College uprisings were kept alive, at least in part, to sustain an awareness of student customs and the battles that had been waged in order to protect them. These customs are not to be confused with the 'College Customs' concerning the fagging of freshmen which were sanctioned by the Faculty, and which were, in any case, on the wane by the 1780s.

[72] Fisher, Sketches of the Life of Rev. Jonathan Fisher, 42.

[73] [Austin], *Strictures*, 18. For criticisms of the student notion of Genius, see Philo-Mathesis, 'Strictures on the Literary Exhibitions of the Students in Harvard College,' *Monthly Anthology and Magazine of Polite Literature* i (December, 1803), 57-59; Studiosus, 'On the Absurdity of some Popular Opinions in Harvard College,' *Monthly Anthology and Magazine of Polite Literature* i (January, 1804), 103-106; and Cantabrigiensis, 'Remarks on the Erroneous Opinion of Students, respecting Genius and Application,' *Monthly Anthology and Magazine of Polite Literature* (April, 1804), 277-278.

[74] Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, I, 301-303.

[75] Josiah Quincy, *The History of Harvard University* (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co., 1860), II, 279-280.

[76] Faculty Records, VI (1788-1797), 107; [Hall], *Words and Customs*, 114. The ruse may have been a cruel play on the custom of *non valui* (I was sick) that excused a student from reciting or answering a question. See [Hall], *Words and Customs*, 218.

[77] Faculty Records, VI (1788-1797), 106-108; [Hall], *Words and Customs*, 114.

[78] The problem flared up a year later, in April, 1792. See Fisher, Sketches of the Life of Rev. Jonathan Fisher, 59; Faculty Records, VI (1788-1797), 145.

[79] Faculty Records, VI (1788-1797), 125-126.

[80] Faculty Records, VI (1788-1797), 127-128. Paine later changed his first name, becoming Robert Treat Paine, Jr. Charles Angier was so well known among students for the amount of alcohol that he gathered up and dispersed in his room that for twenty years after his departure from College in 1793, his former suite in Hollis Hall was known as The Tavern. See [Hall], *Words and Customs*, 297.

[81] Pearson, Journal, 16.

[82] On the Guy Fawkes Night tradition in America, see David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1990), 210-211. J. A. Leo Lemay has argued that in Colonial America, November 5 was celebrated not as Guy Fawkes Day, but as Pope Day: a day for "anti-Catholic ritualistic burning of the pope [in effigy] by adolescents." See Lemay, "The Contexts and Themes of 'The Hasty Pudding,'" *Early American Literature* xvii (1982), 19 n. 4. In any case, Harvard's rule concerning bonfires is found in *Laws of Harvard College*, 25.

[83] White, Reminiscences, 81-83; Pearson, Journal, 17.

[84] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 183. Despite the wealth of documentary evidence to the contrary, Morison supposed that this society was a "cruel hoax" on the faculty.

[85] Faculty Records, VI (1788-1797), 194. The subscribers are named in Pearson, Journal, 17.

[86] Faculty Records, VI (1788-1797), 194; White, Reminiscences, 85.

[87] Edith Davenport Fuller, 'Excerpts from the Diary of Timothy Fuller, Jr., an Undergraduate in Harvard College, 1798-1801,' *Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings* xi (1916), 38.

[88] White, Reminiscences, 85; Pearson, Journal, 18.

[89] E. P. Thompson, 'Rough Music' in *Customs in Common*, 467-531 (quotation, 480). Significantly, Thompson notes that Charivaris flourished on Guy Fawkes Day (November 5), which was the event that possibly sparked the disorders in the first place (481 n. 2). Charivaris were by no means confined to Europe. For well-publicized American instances, see Alfred F. Young, 'English Plebian Culture and Eighteenth-Century American Radicalism' in *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism*, ed. Margaret Jacob and James Jacob (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), 185-212. Harvard tutor, Stephen Scales, had been the subject of a Charivari in 1769. See Cohen, 'Harvard College on the Eve of the Revolution,' 184.

[90] White, Reminiscences, 87. Olds' attacker was one Shackleford. He did not appear to be punished, nor can I find any other information concerning him in the College records.

[91] Faculty Records, VI (1788-1797), 197-205; White, Reminiscences, 89-97. The majority of these students did not return to Harvard.

[92] [Austin], *Strictures*, 8.

[93] The following discussion is based upon Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967); Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972); and J. G. A. Pocock, 'Civic Humanism and Its Role in Anglo-American Thought' in *Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (New York: Athenaeum, 1973), 80-103.

[94] On the masculine underpinnings of Republican political ideology and Enlightenment philosophy, see Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1986), 15-32; and Ruth H. Bloch, 'The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America,' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* xiii (1987), 37-58. It should be noted that while in the late twentieth century the opposite of the word "man" is usually child, or woman, in the minds of the eighteenth century students a third term—unmanly—was often used. It referred to men (adult males) who either could not or did not act in a manly or civic fashion. Unmanliness, and even effeminacy should not be, as they so often are, confused with acting like a woman. One could be a man and yet (be forced to) act in an unmanly fashion. This was the grievance of the students.

[95] Classical Republican authors taught at Harvard in the 1780s included Virgil and Cicero, and later Sallust, Livy, and Xenophon. See, Robson, *Educating Republicans*, 166.

[96] See Cohen, 'Turkish Tyranny,' 567; Anon., *A True Description*; [John Quincy Adams], 'Lines Upon the Late Proceedings of the College Government' quoted in *Diary of John Quincy Adams*, II, 179; Joseph Dennie to Roger Vose, August 17, 1790, *Letters of Joseph Dennie*, 61. On eighteenth century perceptions of Turkey as an exemplary despotism, see Bailyn, *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, 63-64.

[97] [Hall], *Words and Customs*, 185-187; Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay*, ed. Lawrence Shaw Mayo (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1936), III, 135.

[98] Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), 3-48 (quotation, 43).

[99] [Phillips], Anti-Don-Quixotism.

[100] In what is otherwise one of the best discussions of Harvard in the late eighteenth century, Sheldon S. Cohen has argued that political ideals mattered little to the disorderly students. His extensive citation of student mobilizations seems to contradict his own thesis, however, to which one must add that Cohen utilizes a fairly rigid and academic conception of "politicization" in his argument. Clearly it would be "erroneous," as Cohen puts it, to compare the Harvard students to the "Students for a Democratic Society," but to dismiss the Butter Riots of 1766 as a matter "of the stomach, not of politics" seems to conflate *casus belli* and cause, especially in the light of work undertaken by E. P. Thompson and others on food riots in the eighteenth century. See Cohen, 'Harvard College on the Eve of the American Revolution,' passim (quotations, 188, 189). More surprising is the assent of Bernard Bailyn, who argues that the riots "had no ideological content, academic or otherwise. They were simply explosions of pent-up adolescent energies against the tightly paternalistic, and *increasingly* paternalistic system." From the utterances and behaviors of the students, however, it would seem evident that while they did see the struggle against the Immediate Government as a struggle against paternalism, they framed the struggle itself in ideological terms. See Bernard Bailyn, 'Why Kirkland Failed' in *Glimpses of the Harvard Past* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1986), 26-27. My thoughts with respect to the ideological underpinnings of student disorder are in accord with Kett, *Rites of Passage*, 59.

[101] [Joseph Tufts], *Don Quixots at College; Or, A History of the Gallant Adventures Lately Achieved by the Combined Students of Harvard University; Interspersed with Some Facetious Reasonings. By a Senior* (Boston: Etheridge and Bliss, 1807), 4-5.

[102] Joseph Dennie to Roger Vose, June 1, 1788, *Letters of Joseph Dennie*, 9.

[103] For examples of radical artisanal republicanism, see Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1976); Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986); and Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1979). I feel it is worth emphasizing the fact that students' use of republican language for their own ends in no way invalidates or makes disingenuous the role of republicanism in their thought. There existed no one monolithic republicanism which the students retroactively adopted to justify their ends. Rather, republicanism constituted a diffuse (and almost invisible) language which could both shape, and in turn be shaped by, almost any event or series of events. The students' republicanism resembled that of the lower orders not because they shared a common *economic* identity, but because both shared a common experience of subjection.

[104] See E. Anthony Rotundo, 'Learning about Manhood: Gender Ideals and the Middle-Class Family in Nineteenth-Century America' in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1987), 35-51. The concept of the "masculine achiever" was first formulated by Charles Rosenberg, 'Sexuality, Class and Role in 19th-Century America' in *The American Man*, ed. Elizabeth Pleck and Joseph Pleck (N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 219-254.

[105] Jo Freeman, 'Origins of Social Movements' in *Social Movements of the Sixties and Seventies*, ed. Jo Freeman (New York: Longman, 1983), 9.

[106] Claude S. Fischer, *To Dwell Among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1982), 79.

[107] See Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, I, 260-261; [Hall], *Words and Customs*, 314-316, 160-161. For a series of poetic satires on the class system at Harvard during the 1750s, see Samuel Quincey, 'A Satire on the Sophimores [sic],' Moses Hemmenway, 'A Satire on S. L. Q. ye Author of A Satire on ye Sophimores [sic],' and Benjamin Church, 'An Answer to a Satire on Samuel L. Quincey' all in Church, Commonplace Book. These works are usefully excerpted and discussed in Jeffrey Walker, 'Benjamin Church's Commonplace Book of Verse: Exemplum for a Political Satirist,' *Early American Literature* xv (1981), 222-236.

[108] On class formation at Harvard, see Henry D. Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs* (New York: D. Appleton, 1901), 84-87. For a study that looks at interaction between the classes at eighteenth-century Yale, see Melvin Yazawa, *From Colonies to Commonwealth: Familial Ideology and the Beginnings of the American Republic* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1985), 59-81. Yazawa sees the class system as an officially sanctioned edifice designed to inculcate sensitivity to social status and deference among the students. Not incidentally, it had the effect of undermining large-scale student mobilization. I am grateful to Professor James McLachlan of Princeton University for this reference.

[109] *Laws of Harvard College*, 36-37; Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II, 276.

[110] Each class, with the permission of the President, was allowed to convene up to four ad hoc meetings per year. See *Laws of Harvard College*, 35.

[111] Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, II, 2.

[112] [William Biglow], *Classology: An Anacreontic Ode, in Imitation of "Heathen Mythology"* (Boston: Thurston, Torry, and Emerson, 1843), 8.

[113] See E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 31-55.

[114] Tudor, Registry of College Adventures, 15-19. Fishing is best described as a form of sycophantism. See [Hall], *Words and Customs*, 128-129.

[115] One scholar has also pointed out that students were occasionally coerced into disorderly behavior, which yet further suggests the extent to which extensive and voluntary student mobilization was a rarity. See, Cohen, 'Turkish Tyranny,' 572, 574.

[116] Timothy Bigelow, *An Oration, Pronounced at Cambridge, before the PBK, at their Annual Meeting on Thursday, July 21, 1796* (Boston: Manning and Loring, 1796), 8.

[117] Quoted in Oscar M. Voorhees, *The History of Phi Beta Kappa* (N.Y.: Crown, 1945), 9, 10.

[118] The best introduction to the social dimension of ethical sentimentalism is Gladys Bryson, *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1945), esp. 148-172. Scottish philosophy was espoused at William and Mary through the good offices of Dr. William Small, Professor of Mathematics and graduate of Marischal College. See Gary Wills, *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 177-180.

[119] On the benevolist theme in Scottish philosophy, see Wills, *Inventing America*, 194-197.

[120] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979), 110.

[121] Hutcheson, quoted in Bryson, *Man and Society*, 153. I have also found useful Susan M. Purviance, 'Intersubjectivity and Sociable Relations in the Philosophy of Francis Hutcheson,' *Eighteenth Century Life* n.s. xv (1991), 23-38.

[122] Socialis, 'On Friendship,' *Massachusetts Magazine* i (September, 1789), 561.

[123] Anon., 'On Friendship,' *Massachusetts Magazine* i (January, 1789), 12.

[124] Hugh Blair, 'On Friendship' in *The Works of Hugh Blair* (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1820), III, 115-116. Blair's works were immensely popular in America in the eighteenth century.

[125] Antony Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, with a Collection of Letters* (Basil: Printed for J. L. Legrand, 1790), I, 62, 57, 64.

[126] [Thadeus M. Harris], 'On Literary and Benevolent Associations,' *Literary Miscellany* i (1805), 8. This is an abridged version of an oration delivered to the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa in 1790.

[127] Turner, *Ritual Process*, 95.

[128] [John Pierce], 'Advice to a Student of Harvard University in a Series of Letters. Letter I,' *Literary Miscellany* i (1805), 51. Pierce's authorship is asserted by Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, II, 143.

[129] Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II, 398; FBK Records, I (1781-1803), unpaginated (entry for September 8, 1789), Phi Beta Kappa Papers, Harvard University Archives.

[130] Entry for September 5, 1787, *Diary of John Quincy Adams*, II, 284.

[131] Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II, 397-398.

[132] Socius, 'For the Centinel,' *Columbian Centinel*, May 15, 1793 (quotation); and Socius, 'For the Centinel,' *Columbian Centinel*, June 5, 1793. The first letter was replied to by Petros, 'For the Centinel,' *Columbian Centinel*, May 22, 1793.

[133] Samuel Shapleigh to the President in Connecticut, October 17, 1796, quoted in the *Catalogue of the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa Alpha of Massachusetts*, ed. William Coolidge Lane (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1912), 136.

[134] Tudor, Registry of College Adventures, 71.

[135] McLachlan, 'The *Choice of Hercules*,' 472. David S. Shields has pointed out that organizations such as Phi Beta Kappa resembled the coffee house debating societies known as "penny universities." David S. Shields to Leon Jackson, private correspondence, May 26, 1994.

[136] The following account is based on FBK Records, I (1781-1803), undated pages, 9-13.

[137] Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 103.

[138] The terms synchronic and diachronic were coined by structural linguist Roman Jakobson to refer to the horizontal and vertical axes of a possible sentence. In this context they refer to relationships of equality versus relationships of hierarchy. See Terence Hawkes, *Structuralism & Semiotics* (London: Methuen, 1977), 77-78.

[139] Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1989), 22-25. On the use of fictive kinship by the marginalized in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Pantheon, 1976), 216-227; Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 243-244; Margaret S. Creighton, 'American Mariners and the Rites of Manhood, 1830-1870' in *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Marine Life and Labour*, ed. Colin Howell and Richard J. Twomey (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1991), 143-163; and Creighton, 'Fraternity in the American Forecastle, 1830-1870,' *New England Quarterly* lxiii (1990), 531-557. Invidious as the comparison may at first seem, student culture in the eighteenth century bore a striking resemblance to that which developed among Anglo-American merchant seamen.

[140] David Tappan, *Discourse delivered in the Chapel of Harvard College, November 17, 1795. Occasioned by the Death of Mr. John Russell, a Member of the Senior Class in that University* (Boston: Printed by John W. Folsom, 1795), 12.

[141] E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1959), 151.

[142] Georg Simmel, 'The Secret and the Secret Society' in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. and trans. Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), esp. 345-348. See also, Sissela Bok, *Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation* (New York: Vintage, 1984).

[143] Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 103. Although they came increasingly to deny the fact, Phi Beta Kappa's use of arcana and ritual were drawn directly from the Freemasons. The connections have been usefully explored by William T. Hastings, *Phi Beta Kappa as a Secret Society* (Washington, D.C.: United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa, 1965).

[144] See David S. Shields, 'Anglo-American Clubs: Their Wit, Their Heterodoxy, Their Sedition,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser. li (1994), 293-304.

[145] The honor/dignity distinction was first formulated by Peter Berger, Brigette Berger, and Hansfried Kellner, *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness* (New York: Vintage, 1974), 83-84, 88-89. For an exemplary historical application that has greatly directed my thinking, see Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th-Century American South* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1984), esp. 13-33.

[146] Robert A. McCaughey, 'The Usable Past: A Study of the Harvard College Rebellion of 1834,' *William and Mary Law Review* xi (1970), 587-610.

[147] The following observations are heavily indebted to Ronald Story, *Harvard & the Boston Upper Class: The Forging of an Aristocracy, 1800-1870* (Middletown: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1980); David B. Tyack, *George Ticknor and the Boston Brahmins* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967); and Robert A. McCaughey, *Josiah Quincy, 1772-1864: The Last Federalist* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1974).

[148] The cultural assimilation of poorer students becomes a key device in many of the Harvard novels that begin to appear in the 1840s. See Hamilton Vaughan Bail, 'Harvard Fiction: Some Critical and Bibliographical Notes,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* lxviii (1958), 211-347.

The Era of Multipurpose Colleges in American Higher Education, 1850 to 1890

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The 1890s in American higher education is properly seen as marking the "Emergence of the American University." Stanford opened in 1891 and the University of Chicago the following year, touching off what Laurence Veysey called "the academic boom of the early nineties." Even Harvard president Charles Eliot, a longtime skeptic, was finally ready to admit the American university had become a reality.[2] But if the future lay with these new educational enterprises, they were still the exceptions as that fateful decade began. In 1890, the majority of students attended denominational colleges, the number of these colleges was still growing, and the majority of men and women students attended single-sex colleges. By 1900, none of this would still be true. The rise of universities and the pressures of standardization displaced the traditional American college from its accustomed central role. The 1890s—more precisely, the first half of that decade—thus stand as a major turning point in the evolution of American higher education.

The historiography of American higher education has, not unnaturally, emphasized the rising new elements—research, graduate education, the new disciplinary knowledge base.[3] This study takes the opposite approach. It seeks to explore the 'old order' that began to form as early as the 1850s and found itself in a deepening crisis after 1890. More than antiquarian curiosity motivates this inquiry; these developments constitute an unwritten chapter in the history of American higher education.

For the generation following the Civil War, the denominational college was still the characteristic institution of higher education. This institution, however, could no longer be equated with the 'old-time' classical college. The majority of existing colleges (and almost all newly founded ones) implemented some or all of the items on a standard menu of innovations: nonclassical degree courses (bachelor's of science, letters, literature, or philosophy), partial courses for part-time students, varying numbers of electives, and coeducation. In addition, significant numbers of colleges innovated further by entering entirely new markets. These included the education of teachers; separate schools of science, engineering, or agriculture; and short courses for commercial subjects. Further linkages were forged—and broken—with professional schools of theology, law, or medicine. The modal institution of higher education thus existed in a fluid educational marketplace in which it competed not only with other colleges, but also with other types of schools, including high schools, normal schools, institutes of technology, and commercial colleges. In a time of accelerating educational change, the colleges were forced to make crucial decisions about how to use their generally meager resources to achieve a mix of offerings that would meet the needs of sponsors, traditional constituencies, potential new students, as well as their own treasury.

This institution—the multipurpose college—is the missing link in the evolution of American higher education.[4] Already by the 1850s, many of the country's colleges were expanding the scope of their offerings and assuming such a guise, even as classical colleges of the traditional type continued to be founded. In the succeeding decades, however, the balance turned decisively in favor of multipurpose colleges (which also describes the new state universities). New and old colleges adapted their degree courses in the face of an expanding academic knowledge base, eclectic student constituencies, and emerging markets for practical, vocational skills. The pace of change varied by institution as well as across regions. However, the inflection point of the early 1890s signaled the onset of a pervasive crisis for these colleges.

In economic terms, the crisis had to do with economies of scale and scope. As these economies began to yield huge payoffs after 1890 for the expanding universities, they essentially ceased to work to the advantage of the smaller multipurpose colleges. The colleges consequently had to redefine their missions, a process fraught with internal conflict and instability.[5] The resolution of the crisis of the 1890s was a long-term development by which the colleges gradually conformed to one of several viable models. Overall, however, they had to assume a new, complementary role as a component rather than the centerpiece of American higher education.

The analysis of this transitional era will start at the endpoint rather than the beginnings for two tactical reasons. First, while the denouement definitely lies in the 1890s, its origins are diffuse. Thus, identifying and charting the elements of higher education in this era is an analytical task in itself. Second, there is abundant data for the later years available in the annual Reports of the Commissioner of Education [RCE].[6] Judiciously interpreted, these data provide a relatively solid depiction of the essential features of the educational system as it was perceived by contemporaries. This foundation, then, permits the structuring of more fragmentary and eclectic information about earlier decades.

"HIGHER INSTRUCTION" IN THE 1880s

The Bureau of Education was created in 1866, and by 1870 it was able to compile and report statistics for colleges (including women's colleges) and professional schools. In its first report, 369 colleges were identified, but it noted that "there is very little known" about 80 of them.[7] During that decade, higher education grew considerably, as did the completeness of the data that institutions supplied to the Bureau. By 1880, a credible depiction of the entire system was available, even if certain details remained elusive. A decade later this information was being reported in voluminous detail, and the inevitable omissions were largely marginal institutions. The contours of the system can thus be depicted with some confidence for the 1880s (Table 1).

Table 1

Institutes and Enrollment in Higher Education. 1879-80 & 1889-90

Type	1879-1880 Institutions	1879-1880 Students	1889-1890 Institutions	1889-1890 Students
Colleges & Universities (UG)	364	32,142	415	44,414
Resident Graduates, C&U		411		1,717
Schools of Science/Technology (inc. Land Grants)	80	*6,637	63	**7,577
Colleges for Women	227	11,626	179	11,992
SUBTOTAL		**50,816**		**65,700**
Schools of Theology	142	5,242	145	7,013
Schools of Law	48	3,134	54	4,518
Medicine		14,006		20,714
Regular	72	9,876	93	13,521
Eclectic	6	833	9	719
Homeopath	12	1,220	14	1,020
Dental	16	730	27	2,643
Pharmacy	14	1,347	30	2,811
TOTAL HI ED ENROLLMENTS		**73,198**		**97,945**
Normal Schools, Teaching Programs		25,736		34,814
Commercial Colleges	162	27,146	263	78,920
Population, 15-19		5,011,400		6,557,600
HI ED Enrollments		1.46%		1.49%

*adjusted **adjusted for double counting.

The many categories of Table 1 are part of its message. Just as the terms employed today, like 'postsecondary' or 'research university,' reflect the nature and structure of our current system, the different institutions enumerated by the Bureau mirrored realities of that day. Here, though, relations among the parts are more amorphous. Universities, for example, reported separately as colleges, scientific schools, and various professional schools. The different categories of institutions overlapped in some respects, as did the activities they represented.

A relatively fixed point in this array was the undergraduate programs of degree-granting colleges and universities. But land-grant colleges were recorded both separately and as parts of universities, and non-land-grant schools of science were listed apart. Colleges for women generally possessed the right to grant degrees, but contemporaries regarded most of them as inferior, often straddling secondary education in their offerings.[8] Professional schools were more alternatives to colleges than destinations for graduates. Normal schools were clearly below college grade at this date, but some teachers were also trained in high schools and in colleges. Academies, on the other hand, were relegated to secondary education, although they sometimes taught portions of the college curriculum.

Given this tangled picture, the Bureau of Education merely tabulated institutions within categories that were self-evident to contemporaries.

The figures in Table 1, imperfect as they are, still reveal a significant dynamic. The number of students in all colleges and professional schools grew barely more than the increase in the 15-19-year-old population (+30.9%).[9] Graduate and professional school enrollments all expanded at a greater rate, accounting for about 11,000 of the 24,000 additional students. The numbers of normal students and those taking business courses (although not part of 'higher' education) also grew relative to the population. Only collegiate enrollments lagged. A closer look reveals a more intriguing finding: when the male/female breakdown is estimated, the number of women in coeducational colleges increased by over 80 percent, but male undergraduates merely matched population growth.[10] Even preparatory students in these institutions increased by 51 percent. Thus, Americans in the 1880s increased their relative commitment to advanced education in most every category save male undergraduates, traditionally the staple of the American college.[11]

POPULATION DYNAMICS OF THE COLLEGES

No convention governed the nomenclature of the central institutions of American higher education—universities and colleges. While some of the "universities" possessed the same professional faculties that were the hallmark of those institutions in Europe, others taught only at the collegiate level. Most colleges, on the other hand, consisted of more than one part. Except in the Northeast, the great majority maintained preparatory departments, which in 1890 enrolled just 5,000 fewer students (39,415) than the colleges proper. There was one clear standard for the college course—four years of graded study in Latin, Greek, mathematics, science and philosophy, leading to an A.B. degree. But a closer look discloses a vagueness about its beginning, duration, and end. Students were admitted according to their proficiency, so that those with strong training entered the sophomore, junior, or even senior classes. One of the liveliest questions of the day concerned the possible shortening of the college course (discussed below). Catholic colleges, on the other hand, considered "college" to consist of an unbroken six or seven-year course. Nor was it evident why students should persist to graduation, since there was nothing that could be done with a bachelor's degree that could not also be done without one. The term "college" in the latter nineteenth century conjured up definite images, but the actual permutations of this ideal were many and varied.

The "universities and colleges" reported in the RCE were either male or coeducational (women's colleges being a separate category). In 1890, the majority of men enrolled in single-sex institutions, as did their female counterparts. This situation was not destined to persist: gender separation was the rule along the populous Eastern Seaboard, but throughout the country, nearly two-thirds of the colleges were coeducational. An even larger proportion were associated with a denomination. Just 99 of the

415 colleges in Table 1 lacked formal church ties, and roughly half of those were publicly controlled. In contrast, 74 colleges were associated with some form of Methodism. Roman Catholics operated the next largest number of colleges (51), but this was a particularly volatile group that should be considered a sector in itself (see below). For Protestant colleges, sectarian doctrines were presumed to be banished from the curriculum, and the influence of the church, exerted through president and trustees, varied from traditional 'association' to outright ownership. For all these colleges, however, daily chapel and a religious ambiance were ubiquitous traits of college life. Finally, the colleges of 1890 were remarkably young: the majority of institutions in Table 1 were less than thirty years old.

The latter decades of the nineteenth century, far more than the antebellum years, was the era of proliferating colleges. Any effort to enumerate college foundings, however, confronts an imposing obstacle: many of these institutions were discontinuous—in function (operating level), operations, name, and/or location. Precision is thus an impossibility. Table 2 thus represents a conservative estimate of when and where colleges appeared.

According to Colin Burke, 50 new colleges opened in the 1830s and enrollments grew by 79 percent. The 1840s experienced a lull which produced only 29 new colleges

Table 2

College Foundings, by Region, 1850s to 1890s[12]

	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	Total Founded 1850-1900	Total 1900	Founded before 1850
New England	1	2	1	2	1	7	22	11
Mid-Atlantic	11	14	7	2	2	41	72	26
South Atlantic	8	6	7	11	6	38	63	21
North Central	28	20	14	6	6	74	96	34
South Central	9	14	12	3	4	42	57	22
West Central	21	24	13	34	20	112	121	8
Western	6	12	7	11	12	48	42	4
TOTALS	84	92	61	69	51	357	473	131
Burke, ACP	88							129
Technical Colleges	1	9	8	9	11		43	5

SOURCES: 1850s-1870s: RCE, 1880
1880s: RCE, 1895
1890s, Total 1900, Technical Colleges: RCE, 1900.
Colin Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*, 15-17.

while enrollments virtually stagnated (+19%). The 1850s then witnessed the largest antebellum net increase of colleges (73) and substantial enrollment growth as well (67%). Table 2 reveals that the dynamics of the 1850s persisted through the next decade, apparently unfazed by the Civil War. The founding of new colleges continued at a lesser but still robust pace for the next two decades, even though enrollment growth probably slowed in the 1870s.

Viewed in this way, the period from about 1850 to 1890 constitutes a distinct era in American higher education. Its hallmark was the proliferation of colleges at nearly as rapid a rate as student enrollments (Table 3).

Table 3

Average College Size, 1840-1890

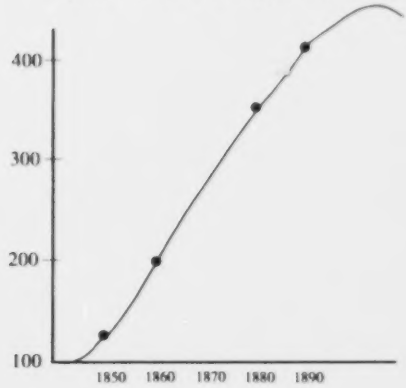
	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890
College Enrollment	8,328	9,931	16,600		32,142	44,133
Colleges	107	136	209		364	415
Average Enrollment	78	73	79		88	106

SOURCE: 1840-1860: Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*, 54.
1889-1890: Table 1.

Three aspects of this situation are noteworthy. First, although traditional historical treatments of this period emphasize the major new departures in higher education—MIT, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Eliot's Harvard—the vast majority of new institutions were denominational colleges. Second, the relative stability in average size indicates that the educational technology or *modus operendi* of the colleges was—again, for the vast majority—largely fixed. Third, the shape traced by the increase in the number of colleges is that of a logistic curve (Figure 1). That is, exponential growth during the 1850s and 1860s gave way to decelerating growth in the following decades, and ceased altogether after 1893—the peak year for traditional colleges.[13] This pattern occurs when the conditions responsible for growth are, in the first phase, self-reinforcing, and in the second phase, self-limiting.[14]

Figure 1

Logistic Growth of Colleges, 1850–1890



What happened during this era, in the most general terms, was that a variant of the classical college—the multipurpose college—encountered geographical and religious conditions that induced exponential growth during the 1850s and 1860s but became increasingly restrictive thereafter. The potential for growth was entirely exhausted after 1890, when conditions favored the expansion of different kinds of institutions and produced a crisis for the old order of multipurpose colleges.

The growth of colleges after the Civil War, it might be argued, was affected by exogenous events like the Morrill Act (1862) and the establishment of the Historically Black Colleges [HBCs] for freedmen in the South. Both effects turn out to be small, however. Before 1890 the Morrill land grants and the formation of new Western states produced only 15 additional flagship universities (plus Cornell) classified with the colleges. All of these institutions can be considered smaller or larger versions of multipurpose colleges, differing chiefly in lacking denominational ties and, by the end of this period, possibly receiving public support. Only three of them—the universities of California, Minnesota, and Illinois—counted more than 300 college students in 1890.

Most other public, land-grant colleges were classified during this era with the schools of science. Here a different dynamic prevailed. A linear pattern of steady expansion is evident in Table 2.[15] As for the HBCs, twenty of these colleges were operating by 1890. They nevertheless fit the profile of denominational provision of higher education to underserved populations. Inherently multipurpose, they had only small collegiate enrollments in 1890 (Ave. 26). In addition, one might note the founding of 'idiosyncratic' institutions in this era—the University of Cincinnati, Johns Hopkins, Clark.[16] There nevertheless remains a fundamental underlying pattern of logistic growth of, overwhelmingly, denominational colleges.

The distribution of college foundings presented in Table 2 is the product of the interaction of geographical and denominational factors. Geographically, colleges followed settlers into the trans-Mississippi West, but they also increased in density in many settled areas. Two different processes were involved—"extension" and "elaboration" of the collegiate matrix—propelled by the interests of different sets of churches.

The extension of colleges across the trans-Mississippi West resembled in some ways the push across the Appalachians a generation earlier. A difference was that the education of ministers was less urgent a consideration in this era, that task being largely fulfilled by 140-some theological seminaries. These colleges were intended to bring civilization, in the form of advanced Christian education, to the Western settlers. The initial wave of colleges, often begun as seminaries or academies, were often the product of missionary zeal. The early leader of Colorado College, for example, the Congregationalist Edward Payson Tenney, espied a population of Native Americans, Mormons, and Spanish-speaking Roman Catholics, in addition to the boisterous young men of the minefields, all to his mind desperately in need of Protestant culture.[17] A second pattern of founding, usually at the initiative of individuals, occurred largely on what geographer D. W. Meinig has termed "the speculative frontier."[18] In this case, initiatives to

Table 4

Protestant Colleges by Denomination, 1860 & 1890

	1860	1890
Presbyterian	40	35/14*
Methodist Episcopal	35	52/22
Baptist	29	36/8
Congregational	17	22
Protestant Episcopal	15	6
Disciples of Christ	6	20
Lutheran	5	19
United Brethren	2	10
Others	9	21
TOTAL	158	265

*Main Church/other Branches

SOURCE: 1860: Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*, 25;
1890: RCE, 788.

found colleges were part of the competitive development of rival settlements—a kind of prospective boosterism. In either case, the founding of colleges in the West was led by the principal denominations. Colorado's first colleges, for example, were Methodist and Congregational, but the Presbyterians too sponsored four institutions, all of which failed. Presbyterians were particularly active in spreading the college gospel in the West, but apparently experienced more failures than successes. Dismay at these results led to the establishment of a central Board of Aid in 1883, which carefully evaluated the prospects for future colleges and achieved better results. All told, 16 enduring Presbyterian colleges were established in the West in the three decades after the Civil War, 11 by direct initiative of church bodies.[19]

East of the Mississippi (roughly speaking) the proliferation of denominational colleges was principally driven by the increasing density and religious fragmentation of the population. The figures in Table 4 can provide only a rough idea of the changes in denominational sponsorship because many colleges were only loosely associated and changes occurred. The principal denominations, in fact, attempted to exert more direct control over their colleges during the latter decades of the century, causing a good number of the older colleges to lapse into nondenominational status.[20] Thus, the figure of 265 Protestant colleges understates the actual situation for 1890. Nevertheless, the contrast indicates the effects of religious fragmentation.

Some 44 of the additional colleges represent independent branches of the main denominations. These churches too felt the need for colleges, and thus added to the overall number. Even when the split was ostensibly regional, the effects could be far-

reaching: the 6 colleges of the Cumberland Presbyterians stretched from Pennsylvania to Texas. The growth of a distinctive immigrant population accounted for 14 additional Lutheran colleges. Another 34 colleges were founded after 1860 by smaller denominations, including Friends, United Brethren, and Disciples of Christ. These sects in some ways retraced the experience of Baptists and Methodists in belatedly embracing higher education. Their concern was less the training of a learned ministry than it was to protect their social base. Repeatedly, they expressed concern that young men who attended the colleges of other denominations were lost to the church. The remedy, then, was to establish colleges of their own. Thus, religious fragmentation was the chief impulse behind the elaboration of the collegiate pattern in settled regions.[21]

A definite pattern of college-founding emerged in this era, employed by virtually all denominations. Once a church, through its regional body, decided upon the desirability of establishing a college, it solicited bids from interested communities. The church itself usually contributed some funds, but it expected that the future home of the college would donate land, perhaps buildings, and a certain amount of endowment. The most lucrative offer almost always took precedence over other considerations like transportation or population.[22] While this procedure gave the town a certain stake in the new venture, the churches retained fairly close control through the right to name the college trustees. This process of founding colleges had several consequences. It favored small or medium-sized towns, in which pure boosterism could be most readily mobilized, rather than the larger and more heterogeneous cities. The combined resources of church and town gave most of these colleges the vital financial margin for survival, but at the same time, by identifying them with a particular constituency and placing them among a limited population, these arrangements constrained their potential size and scope. Finally, the interests of the churches were clearly paramount in the founding of such colleges.

These two dynamics—geographic extension largely in the West and denominational elaboration elsewhere—underlay the logistic pattern of college expansion in this era. During the 1850s and 1860s, college founding through denominational elaboration was in full force, particularly in the Mid-Atlantic and North Central states, while geographical extension was accelerating in the Great Plains and the Far West (Table 2). The confluence of both these patterns made the 1860s, surprisingly, the most fecund decade for new colleges. The self-reinforcing nature of this growth was undoubtedly due, on one hand, to the rapid extension of the railroad network and the real estate frontier, which created communities eager to host colleges. On the other hand, the reciprocal effects that denominations had upon one another produced an implicit or protective competition. The momentum behind this dynamic may well have been diminished by the Panic of 1873 and its aftermath. In any case, denominational elaboration continued afterward at a much slower pace (it has never stopped!), but most of the foundings of the 1880s and 1890s were due to geographical extension—principally in the Dakotas (7 colleges), Texas (10), Kansas (9), Nebraska (6), Missouri (7), and Florida (5).

Both these processes were self-limiting or, in extreme cases, self-destructive. Where religious fragmentation was high, as in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, excessive elaboration resulted in the founding of numerous weak and nonviable colleges. Extension also resulted in high mortality rates, as founders often wagered on what turned out to be poor locations. Generally, where population density remained low, colleges faced difficult conditions. In the Midwest, by way of contrast, extension in the 1820s-1840s was followed by elaboration as the population grew. For most of the West, however, overextension precluded much subsequent elaboration before the nature of higher education began to change after 1890.

CATHOLIC COLLEGES

The creation of Catholic colleges contributed to the overall logistic pattern, but differences from their Protestant counterparts made them a kind of parallel system with even less stable population dynamics.

Catholic colleges were founded for essentially the same motives as Protestant ones. Before 1850, Edward Power has noted, they were chiefly founded out of the need to perpetuate the clergy, in this case by preparing students for the seminaries, out of missionary zeal to bring Catholicism to the spreading population, and out of a desire to provide Catholic moral education shielded from hostile doctrines. After 1850, Catholic interests shifted like other denominations toward educating a learned laity—providing higher education appropriate for a Catholic community.[23] Both sets of motives gave Catholics powerful incentives first for extension of their educational complex and then for full territorial elaboration of colleges. However, whereas each Protestant college was an independent corporation, Catholic colleges were emanations of permanent organizations—extensions of the Universal Catholic Church.

The two key entities were the Catholic dioceses, each headed by a bishop and entrusted with authority over education, and the religious orders. Many of the enduring colleges represented some combination of effort by both, since it long proved difficult for a diocese to mobilize the resources needed to sustain a college. Catholics further complicated matters by adopting a variant of the Jesuit seven-year plan of studies. This heavily classical course began with "Rudiments" and proceeded through three years of "Humanities," followed by single years of Poetry, Rhetoric, and Philosophy. This arrangement largely duplicated the preparatory classes and four years of the standard classical A.B. course, but the rigidity of a single course demanded a larger educational enterprise while making such a commitment more formidable to students. Many colleges in fact compromised this pattern out of necessity.[24] Thus, the Church was at once ambitious in terms of the elaboration of colleges to serve all Catholics and in curricular requirements, but starved for the resources to sustain such efforts. One might expect, then, large numbers of foundings accompanied by a high rate of failure. Indeed, this is what occurred. But the permanence of the Church was also a factor. Numerous insolvent Catholic colleges were shuttered, reduced to preparatory schools or seminar-

ies, only to reopen again under more hopeful conditions. Catholic colleges sometimes flickered in and out of existence.[25]

Catholic colleges began to be founded at a rapid rate around the mid-1840s and this process continued for the next 70 years. From 1850 to 1890 an average of 33 were started each decade, 70 percent of which ultimately closed.[26] This effort of elaboration thus persisted longer than that of Protestant denominations, and planted Catholic colleges in all but the most sparsely settled Western states (Idaho, Nevada, Wyoming). In keeping with the pattern of logistic growth, however, the final efforts were the least productive: Catholic colleges founded from 1890 to 1910 expired at the astonishing rate of 85 percent.

THE NATURE OF MULTIPURPOSE COLLEGES

Multipurpose colleges can only be understood with reference to the classical colleges that preceded and to some extent coexisted with them. The classical denominational college may trace its lineage back to seventeenth-century Harvard, but its early nineteenth-century form nevertheless represented a particular variation of that venerable species. During the generation following the Revolution, colleges had sought, with increasing frustration, to embody ideals of Republican education and public service. Only after 1800, in the reaction against the Enlightenment and in sympathy with burgeoning evangelical piety, did classical colleges become the norm—looking inward to the interests of the denominations and concentrating pedagogically on an arid classicism.[27]

As offered in numerous colleges, the classical course was infinitely varied but essentially the same. The first year was devoted to perfecting the student's skills in Latin, Greek, and mathematics—the subjects required for entry. The ancient languages were employed thereafter in the study of literature (belles lettres) and rhetoric. Natural philosophy (science) was emphasized in the third year, and mental and moral philosophy in the fourth. Interspersed were a variety of classes in history, logic, ethics, and religion. Each year's class studied the entire curriculum together. Students were expected to prepare their lessons on their own and then called upon to recite them in the classroom. Whether or not lectures were used in the advanced classes depended on the college and the capabilities of its instructors. Students' lives were ordered by a rigid discipline, and a religious ambiance was maintained by compulsory daily prayers and chapel. This regimen was regarded as unpleasant by purveyors and recipients alike. College leaders found its value in the mental effort forced upon students and assumed that unremitting discipline was needed to prevent their charges from subverting the whole process.[28]

The ways in which the classical college might be altered were recognized by contemporaries. Parallel courses might substitute science or modern languages for Latin or, particularly, Greek. Optional courses could be inserted into the fixed curriculum, or, more radical, students might be grouped by proficiency into more and

less advanced courses. Students also might be allowed to study only subjects of their own choosing (partial course). During the 1820s, all of these approaches were tried, but met with little success.[29] Instead, the clamor for reform provoked an imposing defense of the classical course—the Yale Report of 1828.

Four essential points are argued in the Report. First, the classical college course was not intended for specific intellectual or practical ends, but rather was the foundation for subsequent professional study and public life. Second, this foundation consisted above all of mental discipline, formed from the "vigorous, and steady, and systematic effort" that the colleges coerced from their students. Third, the study of the classics was superior to all other subjects for acquiring mental discipline and cultural refinement for later life. Finally, the Report thoroughly disparaged all alternate forms of education, establishing in effect the indubitable superiority of the classical course.[30] All four of these points seemed plausible to contemporaries and, indeed, were repeated almost verbatim for the next sixty years. Only the last, however, was confirmed in an important way by social practice. The reforms of this period foundered due to a variety of circumstances, but they were invariably weighed down as well by the invidious distinction that contemporaries made between the classical course and its alternatives.

Classical colleges nevertheless had distinct drawbacks. In an age when boys of about 12 assumed an economic role and semi-independence from their families, college most likely meant the prolongation of dependence and control. Semi-independence harmonized with intermittent forms of schooling, the pattern for most youth, but collegians were expected to undertake thorough preparatory study, followed by a continuous four-year course. And, while most youth enjoyed considerable personal freedom, collegians were constrained by myriad rules, enforced in the spirit of petty but inefficient despotism.[31] Considering these traits, a college education probably did produce superior powers of mental application as well as conspicuous verbal skills. Even so, its cachet appealed to a definite but delimited constituency: sons of more affluent families pursuing the genteel route to professional status; aspirants, often mature young men, to the ministry; and a trickle of rural youths defying sociological description who sought better lives through education. For such a clientele, the classical college for long had few rivals.

Although most new colleges of the 1830s largely replicated the classical model, they often began by incorporating reformist ideas. Randolph-Macon College modeled itself after the University of Virginia, for example, and Wesleyan College opened offering a partial course and some electives; but both were brought back to orthodoxy.[32] The few departures from the classical college largely stood alone: Union College—successfully offering a bachelor of science degree; Jefferson's University of Virginia—a complete departure from the American college; West Point—inspiration for a growing number of military academies. In the extension of higher education beyond the Appalachians, however, denominational colleges took the training of a learned ministry as their most urgent mission and clung to the classical course as the surest means to emulate the intellectual standards of the East.[33] Slowly, however, new

departures appeared, and by the 1850s the colleges being founded increasingly resembled a new sub-species.

As its primary orientation the multipurpose college embraced the education of a learned laity rather than a learned ministry. At its core there remained the classical college, typically most highly esteemed, but now surrounded by additional courses of the type specifically condemned in the Yale Report. Besides the ubiquitous preparatory departments, these would include a non classical (or non-Greek) degree courses in science (B.S.) or modern languages (B.Litt. or B.Phil). In addition, these colleges might offer nondegree courses for teachers or for commerce. An inverse scenario frequently occurred when prospering academies upgraded their offerings by obtaining college charters. Academies were already multipurpose in nature, so that a classical course might merely be appended to existing offerings.[14] Finally, and perhaps most characteristic, the multipurpose colleges tended to admit women.

These traits of the multipurpose college are mutually consistent. Usually located in towns that had lured them with an attractive offer, they joined settled communities that had undergone the social and economic effects of the 'market revolution' rather than the rudimentary frontier outposts where earlier colleges had begun.[15] They could thus appeal to a proto-middle-class constituency. Their local supporters (and some denominational sponsors) might appreciate the prestige of a classical education, but consistently expressed a desire for more practical and accessible nonclassical courses as well. Teacher and commercial courses might be offered if a demand existed. Such courses would make some financial contribution for these invariably hard-pressed institutions which depended not only on student tuition but on the good will of the local community as well.

Coeducation was entirely consistent with these traits, but it was notably antithetical to the spirit of the classical college. Given the prevailing doctrine of 'separate spheres,' women had no need for an education that prepared for professional training or public life. Nor did they require the coercive tactics used to instill mental discipline into recalcitrant boys. College education for women had not yet been contemplated at the time of the Yale Report, but well before mid-century advanced education in various forms was expanding rapidly in academies, seminaries, collegiate institutes, and ultimately women's colleges.[16] This movement was incorporated rather naturally into multipurpose colleges, in either separate or coeducational departments. Still, higher education for women evoked strong feelings, and thus the incidence of coeducation varied greatly by region and denomination. In the South, colleges or seminaries for women alone were the rule, and in the Northeast coeducation made only selective inroads after the Civil War. From Western New York across the Midwest, however, conditions fostered by the market revolution favored coeducational colleges; and in the Far West they were the rule. Roman Catholics were most adamantly set against mixed colleges, but the main branches of the Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Lutheran Churches also favored segregation of the sexes. The more populist and evangelical denominations, on the other hand, were far more open to the inclusion of women. These were the

denominations, moreover, that were most active in the elaboration of colleges. Thus, while coeducation cannot be considered as the litmus test for multipurpose colleges, it is a frequent and telling correlate.

ELABORATION OF COLLEGES IN OHIO

The 'market revolution' created the conditions that nourished multipurpose colleges. It engendered the prosperity of the towns and countryside that harbored the denominational communities chiefly responsible for this new generation of colleges. Thus, the territories most affected by these forces were the first to sprout such institutions. Nowhere was the transition from a frontier to a market-driven society more rapid and far-reaching than in Ohio. Driven by a boom in canal building in the 1830s and railroad construction during the next two decades, the state in 1860 had the third largest population, the most miles of railroad, and the largest number of colleges.[17]

Oberlin Collegiate Institute, which opened in 1834, was something of a bridge between the classical and multipurpose colleges. Inspired by Congregational missionary zeal, its comprehensive vision almost immediately pushed it toward a larger role. Its stated purposes were, first, to educate ministers and teachers for the vast lands of the Mississippi Valley; second, the 'elevation of female character' through education; and third, to extend a useful and affordable education to all classes of the community. The first goal called for the classical A.B. course, capped by a theological department. The latter was greatly enlarged in 1835 by the defection of a group of abolitionists from Lane Theological Seminary and the arrival of famed evangelist Charles Grandison Finney. So important was theological education that provision was soon made for a short, non-Latin 'Bible course' for impatient pre-seminarians, who were also permitted to take partial courses in the college. The second goal was met initially by a separate ladies' department, but soon women were admitted to any course. Oberlin graduated the first female A.B. in the country in 1841. In order to meet its third goal, Oberlin maintained a large preparatory department, and also adopted the manual labor plan, like many colleges of the 1830s. Besides preparing students for the college, the preparatory department offered courses for teaching and commerce. Oberlin was considered radical during its early years, but it also became Ohio's largest antebellum college, attracting many of its students from outside the state. When it was rechartered in 1851 as Oberlin College, the institution was clearly a multi-purpose college, although by that juncture it was no longer alone.

After 1840 the college matrix was gradually elaborated in Ohio as each church pursued independently its own denominational interests. Patterns of college-founding were diverse or even idiosyncratic, but in total they represent a process that occurred throughout much of the country.

Perhaps most common was the concern of evangelical churches about losing the allegiance of young men educated by rival denominations. Ohio Methodists chafed at Presbyterian control over the two nominally state universities, Ohio and Miami. Their

response was to found Ohio Wesleyan College in 1846. Although in the center of the state, Ohio Wesleyan offered little succor to Methodists in the northeastern section who wished to counter the lure of Oberlin. A wealthy layman, John Baldwin, worked with the North Ohio Conference to found an eponymous 'Institute.' Raised to collegiate status in 1854, Baldwin College soon surpassed Oberlin in the wide spectrum of its offerings. A third Methodist college, Mount Union (1858), was entirely the work of laymen. Beginning as a seminary in 1846, it also quickly sprouted additional departments. In governance, Mount Union resembled earlier colleges in being firmly associated with a church, but not formally affiliated.[38]

Both the United Brethren and the German Reformed churches were moved to found colleges for the same professed motives as the Methodists. The Brethren had eschewed colleges until they felt pressured into launching Otterbein in 1858. For the German Reformed Church, the long distance to their seminary in Mercersberg, Pennsylvania was the decisive factor in starting Heidelberg College (1850). The founding of Antioch (1852) might be considered another variation on this theme. Liberal 'Christians,' who opposed denominational distinctions, sought to found a nonsectarian college of a high rank. They consciously sought the best local offer in New York and Ohio before accepting the bid of the small town of Yellow Springs.

Developments within denominations also generated colleges. Ohio Lutherans were divided between an English branch and a more traditional German branch that controlled the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary in Columbus (f. 1830). After cooperation between the two groups ended in 1840, the English Lutherans protected their interests by organizing Wittenberg College (1844). The German branch countered by founding Capital University (1850).

Presbyterian hegemony over Ohio's first two colleges may have offended other denominations, but it failed to satisfy the church's increasing desire for closer control. The contrasting fates of the two resulting colleges well represent the changing environment. Central College of Ohio (1842) resembled other early colleges in being founded by local Presbyterians acting independently. This institution garnered little support, producing just a single graduate before the Civil War. The two Ohio Synods of the Church resolved in the mid-1840s to found a church-sponsored institution, but they apparently felt little urgency. For years they failed to agree on a location, and then the Civil War caused further delay. When the University of Wooster was founded in 1866, however, it had relatively solid underpinnings from both the church and the town.

These colleges in many ways mirrored the denominations they represented. Large denominations, like the Methodists, could support relatively large colleges. Ohio Wesleyan was generally the second largest college in the state (Table 5, below) and would later harbor university aspirations. Otterbein, which depended almost entirely on the Brethren, remained small and impecunious. Urbana College, founded by the Swedenborgian Church (1858), remained tiny and imperiled throughout the century. Capital University, despite its name, reflected the conservatism of the German Lutherans and remained essentially a classical college into the twentieth century. The

more liberal English Lutherans. however, transformed Wittenberg into a multipurpose institution after the Civil War.

Antioch, Otterbein, and Heidelberg were all coeducational from the time of their chartering, and each graduated women from the college course. They reflected support within their respective denominations for the advanced education of women. Muskingum, a United Presbyterian college, adopted coeducation early in contrast to the main church. Methodists generally were conspicuous supporters of women's education. Baldwin, Wilberforce, and Mount Union were coeducational, while Ohio Wesleyan was accompanied by a women's college, with which it merged in 1877. With at least seven antebellum coeducational colleges, Ohio was clearly in the vanguard of this movement.[39] Much the same could be said in curricular matters.

A historian of these colleges has observed that "none of Ohio's antebellum colleges limited itself to the narrow concepts outlined in the Yale Report of 1828."[40] While Capital University might be the exception to this rule, among other traditional institutions Kenyon taught engineering for a time and St. Xavier offered commercial subjects in evening classes. Nonclassical degree courses in science or literature were the most common additions to the A.B. in these years, and some colleges offered courses for teaching or commerce.

Colleges that developed from academies (however named) tended to be the most innovative. Baldwin and Mount Union have already been noted, but both were remarkable in this respect. Among its many offerings, Baldwin started an extensive commercial course in 1859 which, unlike some others, was never discontinued. In 1858 it started a German department, which met with such success that it was separated five years later as German Wallace College. The two schools remained closely associated, and later reunited as Baldwin-Wallace University. By the 1880s, Baldwin alone counted eight different schools. The founder of Mount Union, Orville Hartshorn, anticipated Ezra Cornell when he stated his intention, "to found for the people a cosmic college, where any person may economically obtain a thorough, illustrative, integral instruction in any needed studies."[41] Even as a college, Mount Union operated more like an academy in encouraging students to take elective courses. Hartshorn also seems to have anticipated William Rainey Harper by offering a summer term, largely for teachers.

Fitting into this same mold was Hiram College, chartered in 1867. It was founded by the 'Christians' or Disciples, who sought an educational institution for all the usual reasons, but originally opted against starting a college. Instead they opened the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute in 1850, which fast became a thriving academy offering a wide slate of electives up to and including collegiate coursework. This same character was retained after full collegiate courses and degrees were instituted, as Hiram continued to teach large numbers of irregular students.

The most radical departure of the antebellum years was the Farmer's College (f. 1852) located outside of Cincinnati. It too was preceded by a prosperous academy, but the founders wished to provide a practical collegiate education for business and

farming. Ten years before the Morrill Act they established the functional equivalent of a land-grant college. It offered both a classical and scientific course with wide allowance for electives. It also organized an agricultural course with three professors and a model farm. The intent of Farmer's College was to teach the new practical curriculum in association with traditional classical subjects. The college appeared to

Table 5

Ohio Colleges in 1889-90, by Collegiate Enrollment

College	Year Opened	Denomination	Collegiate Men	Collegiate Women	All Departments
Oberlin	1833 #	Congregational	253	356	1,713
Ohio Wesleyan	1844 #	Methodist	266	218	1,117
Scio	1866	Methodist	200	108	402
University of Wooster	1870 #	Presbyterian	173	62	750
Ohio State University	1873 #	state	186	35	425
Mount Union	1846	Methodist	145	30	568
University of Cincinnati	1873 #	municipal	89	31	900
Heidelberg University	1850	Reformed	90	25	347
Wittenberg	1845 ##	Lutheran	89	26	285
Buchtel	1872 ##	Universalist	67	42	361
Marietta	1835 #	Congregational	100	*	171
Denison University	1831 #	Baptist	96	*	207
Baldwin University	1846 #	Methodist	57	37	344
Western Reserve	1826 #	Congregational	67	5	198
St. Xavier	1840 #	Roman Catholic	71	*	419
Capital University	1850	Lutheran	71	*	154
Muskingum	1837	United Presbyterian	53	18	119
St. Joseph's	1871	Roman Catholic	50	*	225
Ohio University	1809 #	non-sectarian	50	16	171
Franklin	1825	United Presbyterian	54	12	118
Otterbein	1847 #	United Bretheren	35	25	238
Hiram	1867 #	Disciples	40	19	324
Miami University	1824 ##	non-sectarian	44	1	72
Findlay	1886	Church of God	29	12	302
German-Wallace	1864	Methodist	36	5	110
Kenyon	1828 #	Episcopal	38	*	129
Willmington	1870	Friends	18	17	113
Calvin	1883	Reformed	19	10	143
Twin Valley	1886	Methodist?	12	8	63
Rio Grande	1876	F.W. Baptist	11	7	33
Ashland	1879	United Brethren	9	3	96
Urbana	1851	New Church (Swedenborgian)	6	4	37
Hillsboro	1857	Methodist	4	5	110
Richmond	1835	Congregational?	8	1	110
Wilberforce	1855	A.M.E.	4	3	177
Antioch	1853 #	Christ/Unitarian		20?	146
Farmer's	1852	Methodist	0	0	51
		TOTAL	2,540	1,141	11,197

*Men's college; # Named members of the Association of Ohio Colleges (1878); ## Subsequent members of the Association.

SOURCE: RCE, 1889-90, 1592-95; and diverse sources.

thrive initially, but it faced continual problems after the war and ceased collegiate operations in 1888.[42]

Looking beyond the Civil War, these same tendencies remained prominent. The matrix of denominational colleges was further elaborated with additions from smaller denominations, but the pace clearly slowed as new possibilities were exhausted. By 1890, nine more Protestant colleges (including Wooster and Hiram) were operating as well as another Catholic college (Table 5). In addition, several more "eclectic" colleges (to borrow a term from Hiram's predecessor) emerged from academies and normal schools. The traits characteristic of multipurpose colleges became more widespread. By 1890 only four Protestant colleges remained confined to men, and fewer than half of the regular college students were enrolled in the classical course.

A new note in the postbellum era was the distinctive role played by philanthropy as the growing fortunes of the gilded age began to affect higher education. Some major gifts produced conventional results, such as denominational colleges for the Universalists (Buchtel College) and the Free Will Baptists (Rio Grande College). However, a few acts of philanthropy produced institutions that clearly would not otherwise have appeared when they did. Four examples stand out which in time produced institutions that transcended the model of the multipurpose college.

First, Charles McMicken left a bequest to the City of Cincinnati in 1858 for establishing a men's and a women's college. Implementation was delayed, but grew into a grander conception. The University of Cincinnati founded 1870 aspired to consolidate all the city's institutions of higher education under its umbrella. Initial progress was slow, with only the School of Design and the Observatory being incorporated by 1890. The next decade saw the addition of professional schools, however, and with them the efflorescence of an unique municipal university. Second, the gift of Leonard Case led to the opening of the Case School of Applied Science in Cleveland in 1881. The school endured numerous difficulties during its first decade, but its substantial endowment assured its eventual success. Third, the Case gift helped to prod Amassa Stone to provide the funds that brought Western Reserve College to Cleveland in 1882. Hitherto a hidebound early college, mimicking Yale and maintaining the classical course "in almost pristine integrity," Western Reserve was now propelled toward becoming a true university.[43] Finally, although it may be stretching to regard the land script given to Ohio under the Morrill Act as a gift, its effects were similar to those just described. A new type of institution with an assured income was thereby created, Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical University (f. 1873), which by 1890 would be poised for explosive growth.[44] Each of these four institutions represented new departures for the modern era. As late as 1890, however, they had more features in common than in contrast with the multipurpose colleges.

The enrollments in Table 5 suggest that Ohio colleges had not yet evolved beyond the multipurpose era in 1890. The great majority of colleges were small and precarious operations. The average collegiate enrollment of the 35 institutions equaled 105, compared to a national average of 106. The situation in Ohio appears representative of the dynamics governing multipurpose colleges.

The multipurpose colleges depended for their vitality or subsistence on some combination of student fees, endowment income, and timely support of benefactors. In practice, each college had to determine for itself how to optimize these potential resources (although there is no evidence they thought systematically about such things). While some students sought the highest standards for the B.A., others might search out the most lenient or inexpensive option. Catering to nondegree students could be an uncertain endeavor. And benefactors might look to reward either traditional high standards or departures from tradition. At any moment, debt, calamities, or inexplicable fluctuations in enrollment might drive a college to the wall. The Ohio colleges during this era appear to have tested myriad possibilities, and thus their experiences provide a laboratory for the complex interactions of academic, market, and external forces.

For an important sector of potential collegians, strong academic standards may have been the paramount consideration. From the earliest foundings, an implicit standard existed that was defined by the practices of the New England colleges. The standard itself was strongly contested, wedded as it was to the classical curriculum most vigorously defended by Yale and Princeton. But for some colleges, such an approach fulfilled the expectations of their constituency. This standard in practice called for well-qualified students and faculty, something that all colleges would ostensibly desire, and it was traditionally linked with a controlled residential setting. It also tended to be joined with a commitment to piety and education for the ministry. The oldest denominational colleges largely embraced this formula. Western Reserve, Kenyon, Denison, and Marietta were highly traditional in curricular matters, but so too was Oberlin in its classical course. Such a profile apparently allowed these schools to charge higher tuition and appeal to wealthier families. As of 1880 (before the impact of the new philanthropy) their endowments were the largest among Ohio colleges ($150,-250,000).[45]

If the years surrounding the Civil War were fertile with challenges to the existing order, a conservative reaction became apparent in the mid-1870s. Its vehicle was the Association of Ohio Colleges, which formed in 1867 as a rather informal discussion group among presidents and professors who attended the Ohio State Teacher's Association. A common topic was relations with the high schools and the thorny problem of Greek (discussed below). In the 1870s the Association began to meet on its own, and its interests focused on "elevating the standard of the colleges in the State."[46] They first turned to the matter of regulating the requirements for the bachelor's degree, and devised a standard requiring "4 years of solid work with 15 recitations per week."

In addition, they sought to defend the A.B. as a classical course representing the study of both Latin and Greek. They also stipulated that colleges offering the degree should have a minimum of ten professors.[47] Their disdain for the B.S., on the other hand, was evident. Their reporter remarked: "Nothing probably did so much to cheapen the degrees given by the colleges of Ohio, a few years ago, as the frequent granting of degrees of B.S. for very inadequate and inferior courses."[48] Once degree standards were agreed upon, the Association limited its membership to those colleges meeting them (see Table 5). The definition of quality taken by the Ohio Association did not necessarily exclude other kinds of courses, as was common in the East, since most of its approved members were in fact multipurpose colleges with large irregular enrollments. Rather, it chose to man the barricades for the imperiled classical A.B., which throughout the era of the multipurpose college retained its preeminent status.

The general lack of success among colleges that aggressively entered the market for practical subjects is more perplexing.[49] Such programs were the signature of the multipurpose college, but most adopted them selectively and opportunistically. If popular, they boosted enrollments and revenues, but they were often dropped as quickly as they were added. The colleges that placed greatest emphasis on such programs had checkered histories. They tended to thrive from the late 1850s to the 1870s, but faced difficulties by the end of this era. Farmer's College was anemic after the War, eventually converting to a military academy. Scio declined somewhat later and was forced to merge with Mount Union (1911); and that institution, which styled itself a "people's college," barely survived the 1880s.[50]

One explanation is valid but beside the point. The kinds of curricula that reformers had been demanding since the 1820s were scarcely viable prior to 1890. The B.S. may have been an easier route to a college degree, but it did not signify systematic training in science and there was no identifiable demand for such graduates in the American economy. The lack of a knowledge base for agriculture education became painfully apparent after the Morrill Act, and was not appreciably mitigated until well after the Hatch Act (1887) established Agricultural Experiment Stations. The teaching of engineering slowly matured during these years, but even a proponent had to admit that the supply of trained engineers eventually created a demand, not the reverse.[51] Such training, it became apparent, could not adequately be appended to small denominational colleges. Thus, the lack of fit between college, curriculum, and careers may have contradicted the visions of reformers, but it scarcely affected the market-driven programs of multipurpose colleges. These institutions faced a different problem.

As the colleges offered an increasing variety of programs, they tapped into the huge market for intermittent education by irregular students. This was the characteristic pattern for education beyond the common school in mid-nineteenth-century America, and it was met largely by academies and similar institutions.[52] Students mixed periods of education with periods of employment, sometimes into their early twenties. They sought education that would expand their intellect, dignify their social standing, or possibly get them a job. The colleges that developed out of thriving academies were

already serving such a clientele, and devised flexible college programs to meet further needs. Other colleges capitalized on their prestige to dabble in these markets. However, results were often disappointing. Students seeking 'practical' instruction attended irregularly and rarely completed degrees. This phenomenon had doomed Francis Wayland's 1850 reforms at Brown; and Cornell opened in 1868 with more than 400 students (332 freshmen), but the attrition rate for the first class approached 90 percent. The industrial classes, whatever their educational aspirations, did not relish spending four consecutive years in cloistered study.[53]

An additional complication was becoming apparent in the last decades of the century. Although the practice of admitting special students was widespread, even in the East, their presence became less compatible with the strengthening collegiate peer culture. Yale president Timothy Dwight was especially blunt: "the special and short course men demoralize the others more than they benefit themselves." If it were true generally, as one conscientious inquiry concluded, that irregular students on the whole were "a drag upon the improvement of the regular students," then their presence in significant numbers would inescapably tarnish the prestige of a college.[54] Such factors may explain why serving irregular students tended to produce substantial enrollments but impecunious institutions.

The colleges of this era are commonly imagined to be tuition-dependent, but in fact student fees were seldom adequate to sustain them because they charged so little. In Ohio tuition ranged from $24 per year at Heidelberg to $75 at Kenyon, with most colleges charging $30 to $45 (1890). If there were 15 students for each teacher (a rough average), a full $40 tuition from each would yield $600, or about half an instructor's salary.[55] Finding the other half of that salary was a continual challenge. Nationally, colleges in the 1890s derived about the same amount of revenues from endowments and 'other' sources as they did from student fees. In Ohio, endowment earnings exceeded income from students. All colleges probably desired robust enrollments, but for financial security they looked above all to 'productive funds.'

In 1900, the majority of colleges reported endowments large enough to support one or more instructor ($25,000). The 171 colleges reporting no endowment were made up largely of public institutions without land grants, Catholic colleges, and most of the small colleges in the South. A similar number (170) reported $100,000 or more, but fewer institutions fell between these two groups.[56] For private colleges to better themselves in the postbellum years—to hire more and better qualified instructors—almost invariably meant accumulating productive funds. Institutional prestige was, as a rule, the critical factor for attracting bequests and benefactions. The distribution of endowments in 1900 indicated a widening distance between have and have-not colleges.

The third and most uncertain element of college financing in this era was deficits. Colleges apparently had only vague notions about their likely income and expenditures. Given good intentions and congenital optimism, colleges overspent virtually every year, ending with a shortfall that had to be somehow met. Trustees at many

schools customarily passed the hat; sometimes assets were drawn down; and many colleges actually borrowed funds, deferring the day of reckoning.[57] These perennial deficits, in effect, constituted part of college finance, but they also underlined the colleges' ineluctable dependence on outside support.

Other kinds of support for the colleges changed over time. One frequent recourse was the selling of subscriptions, presentable in lieu of tuition for a set number of years or in perpetuity. This practice was quite widespread in the 1850s, and caused subsequent embarrassment to numerous institutions, including Antioch and Ohio Wesleyan.[58] Local enthusiasm for founding a college usually brought an infusion of funds, but this feat generally proved difficult to duplicate. Direct support from the churches was always problematic. The denominations constituted natural networks for fund-raising and these were exploited by college agents. However, actual church organizations were hard-pressed by other needs with higher priorities. The organization late in the century of special boards to coordinate aid to the colleges indicates that such support had to be carefully alotted.[59]

Existing essentially as mendicants created one source of uncertainty for the colleges, but they also found themselves operating in an increasingly competitive marketplace. Although the population and the demand for education were both growing in the late nineteenth century, so too were the alternatives. In offering programs for teachers, colleges competed with the burgeoning normal schools; commercial courses were offered in private business schools as well as high schools; and courses in music and art in all likelihood duplicated the offerings of private teachers. Competitive pressures came from other colleges in the form of rising standards. Hiram College had to extend its degree courses to meet the guidelines of the Association of Ohio Colleges; Mount Union was excluded from the Association before 1890 because of its summer term and liberal policy on electives—precisely the features geared to local needs.[60]

As Colin Burke has emphasized, the multipurpose colleges were peculiarly suited for meeting the needs of educationally underserved communities. These were the "island communities" that Robert Wiebe has identified as characterizing the United States of the mid-nineteenth century.[61] Indeed, the multipurpose colleges were an integral part of small-town America, and they spread across the land at roughly the pace that island communities were formed. They provided the kind of general education that in untold tacit ways permitted enterprising young men to dignify their presence and thus better themselves in commerce, the professions, or public life. For just these reasons, the colleges found the growing cities to be barren ground.

There was not a single urban occupation that required a bachelor's degree, and few where it might be an asset in finding employment.[62] Moreover, the cities were thick with competing institutions. High schools developed from an early date, providing general education as well as entree into commerce or teaching. A myriad of private schools taught anything for which customers would pay. In Ohio, as elsewhere beyond the Appalachians, the cities tended to be graveyards for nineteenth-century colleges. Cincinnati College was one of Ohio's earliest, but it operated intermittently and closed

in 1846. Woodward College failed there too, and the Protestant University of the United States (chartered 1845), whose grandiose vision seems to have been lost in the mists of time, apparently never opened. Farmer's College also foundered on the outskirts of Cincinnati. The single exception was St. Xavier's which served a well-defined population of Roman Catholics. Cleveland University was launched in 1850 with impressive sponsorship, but was soon defunct. Only private philanthropy gave Western Reserve (after its move) and the University of Cincinnati the staying power to persist into a new and more favorable era.[63]

The other side of this coin is that professional education in law and medicine was located exclusively in Ohio cities. Cincinnati by 1890 had four regular medical schools and four other kinds. Cleveland, Columbus, and Toledo each had two regular medical schools. Law schools were found only in Cincinnati and Cleveland. Large cities, it would seem, were as prolific in sprouting professional schools as the countryside was in breeding colleges. By 1890, however, such compartmentalization was disintegrating along with America's island communities. The multipurpose college, as a result, faced both internal and external challenges.

THE CRISIS OF THE OLD ORDER

The 1880s were the Indian Summer for multipurpose colleges, an interlude of relative tranquillity although their season was nearly past. Perhaps it was coincidence that the number of colleges peaked in 1893 (Figure 1), the year a financial panic touched off a severe economic downturn. But hard times more likely aggravated conditions that were rooted in an increasingly anachronistic structure. The multipurpose colleges were denominationally based and locally focused in an age of diminishing sectarianism and expanding organizational scope. The years around 1890 were the fulcrum of impending change—the moment when the colleges slipped onto the defensive. At issue was the institutional division of labor in American education—where and for how long would preparatory, collegiate, professional, and advanced academic studies take place.[64]

Proponents of the new universities were most conspicuous in voicing doubts about the future viability of the existing collegiate system. President Eliot in some ways dropped the gauntlet when he urged that the college course be shortened to three years. Although a strong supporter of liberal education, he felt that a four-year course unduly delayed students planning professional studies and careers.[65] President Charles K. Adams of Cornell argued that the natural dividing line between college and university work occurred between the sophomore and junior years, where most students at this time made a de facto transition from required to elective courses. Daniel Coit Gilman of Johns Hopkins recognized the same breakpoint, but thought that colleges should incorporate the last two years of preparatory work, thus educating students from approximately ages 16 to 20.[66] Andrew D. White took a similar view, recommending that colleges become "intermediate institutions forming the connecting link between the public-school system and the university system," especially since competing with universities was "becoming more and more hopeless."[67]

Interestingly, these 'university men' took the traditional view of the college's essential role as a preparatory institution. This was the nub of the 1828 Yale Report, and it was the root as well of the college's own claim to four years of a student's life. As intermediate institutions, their true function was, according to the older view, "to create mental and moral power" through strenuous mental discipline; or, in more modern terms, to convey "liberal culture" for its own sake.[68] This task required four years, in their view, and provided the foundation for further practical, professional, or specialized studies. Around 1890, college defenders were condemning what they perceived to be encroachment from below by secondary schools,[69] while generally applauding the notion that universities ought to operate at a more rarefied, advanced level. In their minds, the contemporary confusion over respective roles could be resolved if each grade of institution would confine itself to its own sphere. For the colleges, this meant explicit repudiation of university work.[70]

One expositor of this orderly tripartite division added a telling qualification to his scheme: "I do not include Normal schools, which are an anomaly in our system, as at present conducted, and which, like other professional and technical schools ... should ...*follow* and not *precede* a college course."[71] Much of advanced education in the United States, it would seem, did not square with this vision of the college's intermediate place. In fact, the colleges had to come to terms with an expanding high school sector of as yet undefined scope, universities laying claim to the higher learning, and professional schools that had become uncoupled from collegiate education.

Secondary education was as amorphous as higher education before 1890. Bureau of Education figures did not even list public high schools as a separate category.

Table 6

Secondary Enrollments and Graduates, 1890-1900

	1890	1895	1900
Public Schools			
Enrollment	202,963	350,099	519,291
College Prep Students	29,289	48,146	56,202
College Prep Graduates	6,565	11,903	18,663
Private Schools			
Enrollment	94,981	118,347	110,797
College Prep Students	26,298	32,051	35,315
College Prep Graduates	4,923	5,733	5,673
Preparatory Departments in Colleges*			
Enrollment	47,911	54,012	56,285
"Graduates" [est. completers]	8,424	9,722	10,131

*Including women's colleges and scientific school. For purposes of estimation, the annual yield of students prepared for college is assumed to approximate that for private secondary schools--18% of enrollment.

Overall, secondary education seems to have grown by about 75 percent during the 1880s, with enrollments in preparatory academies and collegiate preparatory departments, the principal feeders to the colleges, rising nearly as fast. After 1890, however, this picture changed. Private secondary and collegiate preparatory students increased only slightly in the 1890s, while public high school students jumped by 167 percent (Table 6). Finding an accommodation with this mushrooming sector posed an acute problem for college admissions.

High schools were first established in the largest cities and gradually spread to other population centers. As terminal institutions for most students, they were only loosely articulated with other sectors, including the colleges. Just one in three students reached the senior year in this era, and only about 30 percent of graduates had prepared for college. Still, given their massive expansion during the 1890s—and beyond—even this meager yield soon grew to constitute the principal source of potential college students (Table 6). Public high school graduates were, ipso facto, non-affluent, making them far more likely to attend local urban institutions or tuition-free state universities. Nevertheless, the colleges could scarcely ignore this deepening pool of potential students.

Relations between the high schools and the colleges varied greatly across regions. In the Northeast, the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools was formed in 1885 chiefly to deal with college admissions requirements that were growing more stringent and varied. The Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States, on the other hand, represented an effort by the stronger institutions in that region to prevent colleges from luring students away from the schools before they graduated. In general, the colleges sought more rigorous academic preparation of high school students, particularly in Greek, while the high schools, mindful of their varied clientele, resisted what they saw as domination by the colleges. By one count, there were 23 college and educational associations attempting to resolve the tangled strands of college admissions by the late 1890s.[72] Events in Ohio present one scenario for this basic predicament.

The Association of Ohio Colleges—a comparatively undiluted expression of the college interests—appointed a committee to work toward "closer and graduated relations" with the high schools in 1888. In a spirit of compromise, it urged the colleges to accept all academic subjects for admission, including modern languages in lieu of Greek. From the high schools, it asked four years of "severe language training" in Latin, accompanied by offerings in the basic academic fields. Consensus was not easily reached, however. Some colleges refused to countenance lowering their standards by admitting students without Greek. High school teachers, who themselves had generally not attended college, apparently gave little encouragement for their students to do so. They also seem to have resisted suggested visitations by representatives of the colleges to examine and rate their curriculum. Essentially rebuffed by the high schools, Association members argued about language requirements for admission for the rest of the 1890s, eventually adopting a rather hollow formula.[73] By then, however, the rear-guard action in defense of the classical course was irretrievably lost.

The unwillingness of the high schools to teach Greek, in Ohio and elsewhere, contributed significantly to the demise of the classical course.[74] In 1890, the A.B. still signified completion of the classical course most everywhere but Harvard; by 1900 most colleges had combined it with the B.Litt., B. Phil. and/or B. Letters in an undifferentiated Bachelor of Arts degree.[75] Powerful curricular trends, borne by the growth of the academic disciplines and the elective system, lay behind this development. For the colleges, however, the demise of the classical course undercut their pretense of a distinctive, intermediate role. Henceforth, the colleges had little recourse but to teach a portion of university academic subjects, and at more than a rudimentary level.

An elective academic curriculum required greater scale and resources than did the several degree courses of multipurpose colleges. This point was illustrated inadvertently by Hiram College president E. B. Wakefield in 1900. Seeking to defend the middling position of colleges, he estimated that the educational needs of an average collegian could be met fully with a faculty of 25.[76] As a benchmark, 25 faculty was well above the 10 thought adequate by the Association two decades earlier. The evolution of the college curriculum in the 1890s, far from providing colleges with the protected niche they had traditionally occupied, drew them into implicit competition with universities.

The surge of high school graduates in the 1890s was clearly more beneficial to universities than to colleges. In Ohio, collegiate enrollments rose from 3681 to 5807 for the decade. However, 73 percent of the additional students swelled the classes of just three institutions—Ohio State (+801), Cincinnati (+466), and Western Reserve (+292). Each represented a different type of modern university (state, municipal, and endowed), and all were located in cities. Elsewhere, fluctuations appear to have an almost random character. Of the three largest denominational colleges, Ohio Wesleyan gained 55 students, Oberlin lost 201, and Wooster was virtually unchanged (-8). Denison became coeducational and gained enrollment (+106) but for Marietta coeducation brought a loss (-15). Kenyon, remaining conservative and male, grew from 38 to 96; Capital did the same and shrank from 71 to 39. The most eclectic of the colleges—Scio, Mount Union, and Baldwin—nevertheless all experienced substantial declines.[77] These results may be considered representative of the experience of multipurpose colleges across the country. Actual developments at each college were strongly affected by local circumstances, and thus are perhaps most indicative of pervasive instability. Nevertheless, few colleges made significant progress toward long-term viability and those offering numerous programs to irregular students may have faced the greatest difficulties.

The experience of Ohio's universities was duplicated on a national scale. The 14 institutions that Edwin Slosson dubbed the "Great American Universities" by themselves accounted for one-third (c. 23,000) of 70,000 additional students in the 1890s (and they include only 5 state universities). Although these institutions were in the forefront of the academic revolution, most of their growth was due to the proliferation

of professionally oriented schools. The University of California offered 9 undergraduate colleges and 6 professional schools, and the other state universities offered similar, if less numerous arrays. Among endowed universities, Harvard and Cornell offered 10 units of study; Columbia, Penn, and even staid Yale each had 9.[78] The universities in the 1890s raised the multipurpose paradigm to a new level. Their numerous schools were themselves specialized entities that underwent further academic development. Much of the additional student demand seemed to be for this type of study (Table 7).

Table 7

Institutes and Enrollment in Higher Education. 1890 & 1900

Type	1889-1890 Students	1899-1900 Students
Colleges & Universities	46,131	82,264
Schools of Technology	7,577	11,954
Colleges for Women A	1,979	4,872
Colleges for Women B	10,013	11,006
SUBTOTAL	**65,700**	**110,106**
Men	44,926	72,336
Women	20,774	37,770
Undergraduate	63,983	104,027
Graduate	1,717	6,079
Schools of Theology	7,013	8,009
Schools of Law	4,518	12,516
Medicine	20,714	37,377
Regular	13,521	22,752
Eclectic	719	746
Homeopath	1,020	1,909
Dental	2,643	7,928
Pharmacy	2,811	4,042
TOTAL HI ED ENROLLMENTS	**97,945**	**167,998**
Normal Schools, Teaching Programs	34,814	69,593
Commercial Colleges	78,920	91,549
Population, 15-19	6,557,600	7,556,089
HI ED Enrollments	1.49%	2.22%

The 70,000 additional students in the 1890s (+71.5%) consisted of 40,000 undergraduates and 30,000 professional or graduate students. Since the universities claimed the lion's share of new undergraduates, the colleges' prospects for gaining enrollments were rather bleak. In 1900 the modal college still had only 83 students. The evident areas of growth—medicine and dentistry, graduate study in the arts and sciences, and a surge of students studying the law—were not those that colleges could exploit.

The swelling interest in graduate education that occurred in the 1880s was interpreted differently by some colleges than by contemporary devotees of *Wissenschaft*. College charters typically authorized the granting of all customary degrees, and master's degrees had long been awarded to their own graduates. Many colleges consequently interpreted doctoral education as yet another area of opportunity. Although an occasional diploma mill appeared, most colleges ingenuously sought to offer an additional service, and perhaps to bolster their status by doing so. The Association of Ohio Colleges, always mindful of standards, established guidelines for the Ph.D. in 1881.[79]

In Ohio (the only state in which this has been analyzed) at least twelve colleges, or about a third of the total, listed doctoral programs by the early 1890s, but only the one at Ohio State proved lasting.[80] The 'collegiate doctorates' of this era reflected a delusion on the part of multipurpose colleges that they might capitalize on this trend. In their catalogues they detailed structured, residential programs: 3 years of study were generally the standard, capped by a thesis that, in the words used by Ohio University, would contribute "some new discovery, however slight."[81] In practice, students must have done most of this work on their own, whether on campus or more likely off. Thus, these doctoral 'programs' consisted largely of examinations for fees. Often the first recipients were members of the college's own faculty; subsequent graduates were typically nearby teachers or clergymen. The University of Wooster was far and away the state leader, granting 120 Ph.D.s from 1880 to 1900. Mount Union, with no library, awarded 16 doctorates (1888-1898). Findlay College, which opened in 1886, awarded 2 Ph.D.s in 1889—one to a faculty member. Richmond College had only 4 undergraduates in 1899, but awarded 5 Ph.D.s. Ohio State University, by way of comparison, granted only 3 doctorates before 1900.

Sentiment in the colleges was often ambivalent toward these doctoral programs. The Denison faculty voted against offering the doctorate in 1888, but a program was instituted by an ambitious new president four years later. Opposition to these practices smoldered in the emerging academic profession. The American Philological Association passed a resolution condemning the promiscuous granting of honorary doctorates in 1881, and they were seconded by the American Association for the Advancement of Science. By the 1890s, the focus of concern had become the supposedly earned 'collegiate doctorates.' The formation of the Association of American Universities in 1900 was principally an effort by the country's leading universities to safeguard the value of the American Ph.D.[82] The awarding of 'collegiate doctorates' withered soon afterward.[83] Whether or not this was due to the AAU is difficult to say; as one of the

Table 8

Percentage of College Graduates in Professional Schools, 1880-1900

	1880	1890	1900
Theology	26.4	22.2	29.2
Law	24.2	21.8	17.5
Medicine (Regular)	7.9	9.0	10.2

principal standardizing agencies, it certainly possessed the power to decry substandard programs. For the colleges, however, these misconceived Ph.D. programs were above all symptomatic of an identity crisis. After the turn of the century (if not earlier) their academic inadequacy apparently became a source of embarrassment. In short order, one college after another renounced granting doctoral degrees. Across the country the colleges largely disappeared from the doctoral lists. In the matter of graduate education, at least, the colleges recognized one function that they did not wish to perform.

Professional education presented a situation altogether different from graduate education. The noble professions of theology, medicine, and law each had its own relationship with colleges, but all had evolved since 1850 into educational alternatives, more competitive than complementary. By the end of the century, only a minority of students took a bachelor's degree before embarking on professional studies (Table 8). Although the percentages in Table 8 may be somewhat understated,[84] they nevertheless reveal that the college's purported role of providing preprofessional education was largely a fiction in these decades.

The low proportion of future clergy who graduated from college is further corroboration of the differentiation of the multipurpose college from its classical predecessor. The proliferation of theological seminaries since early in the century had effectively consolidated the final college years of study with pastoral and theological training. Not incidentally, these seminaries represented a higher priority for support from the churches than did their respective colleges. Regional and denominational differences were nevertheless pronounced. The oldest seminaries on the East Coast largely sought college graduates as students, but the evangelical denominations looked to the seminaries for their ministers with less regard for prior training. Since many seminaries were formally or informally associated with a college, aspiring ministers often became irregular students in the kind of 'Bible course' first fashioned at Oberlin. Schools of theology, unlike their counterparts in law and medicine, desired at least some college study from their students; however, except for some Eastern schools, in 1900 they were still far from being 'graduate' institutions.[85]

The dynamics of law and medicine differed in being governed by professional bodies and state laws. For both, the last decades of the century were a time of expansion and turmoil. Until the Civil War, schools of law and medicine existed under proprietary arrangements and may or may not have been connected with a college. Many of the

larger colleges had such relationships at one time or another, but their very nature made them unstable. Conditions in the schools mirrored those in the professions, where the effects of Jacksonian democracy had vitiated most state controls over professional practice, thus separating licensing from formal education.[86] The subsequent evolution of legal and medical education, then, reflected efforts to reimpose standards for professional licensing and practice. Both fields faced the same fundamental challenges: instituting an academic curriculum of sufficient length, installing professional faculty to teach it, and raising requirements for admissions.

As of 1870, the year before Charles Eliot engineered the reform of the Harvard Medical School, medical education throughout the country conformed to the same debased pattern.[87] The schools, whether affiliated with universities or not, were proprietary in nature in that practitioner-teachers were compensated directly from student fees. The standard courses, taught by lectures (except for anatomy), ran four or five months and were repeated each year. Students who registered for two iterations, and paid additional graduation fees, were awarded M.D.s. At this juncture, states began to reestablish licensing laws, which automatically granted such graduates the right to practice. Whatever slight augmentation of expertise this brought, it had the effect of encouraging the proliferation of even weaker proprietary schools, which in turn discouraged others from raising standards.[88] The next two decades nevertheless witnessed a transformation of medical education led by the most reputable university-affiliated schools.

Undergirding this transformation was an 'academic revolution' in medicine that resulted from bringing basic biological science to bear on problems of health and disease. As in other academic fields, the German universities showed the way: hundreds of Americans returned from studying there fired with the spirit of scientific medicine.[89] Eliot's 1871 reforms at Harvard created an organization that could encompass, cultivate, and teach such knowledge.

Harvard instituted a graded course that extended over three, nine-month terms (thus roughly tripling the amount of instruction). Students were led progressively through the preclinical sciences, taught in laboratories instead of lecture halls, followed by clinical instruction. The Harvard medical school was also incorporated into the financial structure of the university, so that professors received salaries instead of student fees. The new pattern required a level of resources to which few universities could aspire, and was resisted as well by much of the medical profession. Only a handful of imitators emerged in the 1870s, notably Penn, Yale, and Michigan. Reform to this point stemmed chiefly from the initiatives of modernizing universities rather than the profession. During the 1880s, the three-year graded program became the desired standard, but only a third of medical schools had adopted it by 1890.[90]

The 1890s marked a second, decisive phase in the reform of medical education, a phase that culminated in 1910 when the Flexner Report administered the *coup de grace* to the proprietary schools.[91] The Association of American Medical Colleges was revived in 1889 and became a powerful standardizing force. It admitted only schools

having the new curriculum, laboratory instruction, and entrance requirements. In 1891, the National Conference of State Medical Examining and Licensing Boards recommended that applicants for licenses be graduated from a three-year graded course. Harvard and the newly opened Johns Hopkins Medical School then lengthened their course to four years, which the AAMC and the licensing boards promptly endorsed.[92] Not only had the requirements for a M.D. been greatly expanded, but the advantage to future practitioners shifted decisively away from cheap degrees and in favor of rigorous preparation.

The reformation of medical education largely bypassed the multipurpose colleges. The unreformed medical schools had been essentially open to all comers, and in any case did not presuppose knowledge that might be taught in the colleges. Urban proprietary schools, in particular, catered to a clientele that could scarcely afford to prepare for college, let alone attend. When attention was directed to admission criteria around 1890, the immediate goal was to demand a high school degree. The Johns Hopkins Medical School was far ahead of the times when it required a bachelor's degree from its applicants. Harvard followed in 1900, with less than total success. A more realistic standard emerged after 1900 among the stronger schools, requiring college courses in biology, chemistry, and physics. Before this, however, studying medicine was largely an alternative to attending college, and a popular one as well considering the rising prestige of scientific medicine. Circa 1890, more M.D.s were being conferred than A.B.s (Table 9, below).

The same drive to raise professional and educational standards was present in law, but the dynamics differed significantly from medicine.[93] At the time of the Civil War, requirements to practice law were minimal throughout the country, lawyers chiefly prepared themselves in law offices whether they attended law school or not. As in medicine, attempts to raise standards in the following years greatly stimulated the formation of professional schools. Perhaps the law was perceived as somewhat more respectable than medicine, because most actual or aspiring universities added law schools between the Civil War and the century's end. Multipurpose colleges seem to have followed the same promptings, but most of their efforts were abandoned.[94] Insofar as law schools attracted less-prepared students, they could be more a rival than a complement to a college. (At larger universities law schools were self-contained.) After 1890 two distinct markets for legal education became apparent, and multipurpose colleges were ill-suited to compete in either.

Eliot's Harvard was the fount of reform for legal education as it was for medical. Intellectually, the Harvard Law School pioneered an academic approach to the law by introducing the case method; structurally, it instituted a two-year graded course. But the process of upgrading the content, length, and admission requirements for law schools proceeded more slowly than in medicine. Harvard only attempted to impose a three-year course in 1899, and the law schools organized a standardizing association in 1900. States remained reluctant to require aspiring lawyers to attend law school. The

law simply did not possess a scientific base equivalent to the preclinical sciences, and bar examinations, ignoring case-method pedagogy, remained a low hurdle for entering practice.

Large opportunities consequently existed for 'unrespectable' law schools to offer students from diverse backgrounds courses designed essentially for passing the bar exam. Such schools offered evening classes to part-time students, particularly in the cities. This kind of legal education appeared in the 1890s and expanded rapidly after 1900, offered in some cases by university-affiliated law schools and in others by independent proprietary schools.[95] The other market for legal studies consisted of 'respectable,' university-based law schools for full-time day students. They followed the Harvard pattern, adopting the case method and valuing legal scholarship. They also favored higher standards and became the constituency of the Association of American Law Schools. As of 1890, full-time students greatly outnumbered those studying part-time, but over the next decade that balance began to shift. After 1900, part-time urban schools like Georgetown University and Chicago Kent were among the largest in the country.[96] Multipurpose colleges had neither the wealth to operate a reformed law school nor the locus to serve urban evening students. Thus, the law schools they actually founded from 1870 to 1900 for the most part soon closed.[97]

The evolution of training for the law and medicine from what were essentially trade schools to respected professional schools was almost exclusively the work of the universities. However, during the last two decades of the century, more-or-less reformed university units coexisted with more-or-less unreformed proprietary schools. During the 1880s, in particular, it appeared that professional education had become largely decoupled from higher learning in the arts and sciences. More students graduated from professional schools in these years than from colleges (Table 9), and only a minority did both (Table 8). This anomalous situation began to change in the 1890s as the number of college graduates more than doubled. The link was not resoldered until after 1900, however, when the better medical schools demanded college science from their students and the better law schools sought applicants having at least two years of collegiate study. Little wonder, though, that at the outset of the 1890s the educational role of the colleges was in doubt.

Table 9

Bachelor's Degree and Professional Degrees, 1880-1900[98]

	1880	1890	1900
Bachelor's Degrees	4,450	6,324	13,477
A.B.	3,300	3,533	7,275
B.Sc. or Eng.	900	1,469	3,226
Others	250	1,322	2,946
Professional Degrees	5,049	7,701	10,233
Theology	719	1,372	1,773
Medicine	3,241	4,556	5,219
Law	1,089	1,424	3,241

"Time was when the college was the top of the educational system in the United States," observed Columbia president Seth Low in 189[illegible] "it is so no longer, and it never can become so again."[99] Low was addressing the college's relations with those same institutions just discussed, and he accurately identified the current moment as a time of transition. Over the next quarter century, the American college did in fact adjust to an intermediate position in the hierarchy of knowledge and training, and one that before long became highly esteemed for its own peculiar merits. The revalidation of collegiate education involved more than establishing clear lines of demarcation with other sectors. The upper threshold of secondary education was defined after 1900 with assistance from the College Entrance Examination Board and the so-called Carnegie unit. The acceptance of the full undergraduate college as a component of the American university clarified the relation of college to graduate study. And, the inexorable rise of professional schools—in stature and standards—eventually justified the preprofessional role that colleges had always coveted. Within this organizational space, however, the leading Eastern colleges fashioned an alluring image comprised of liberal culture, based on selective borrowings from the academic disciplines, and an exuberant peer culture, incorporating a secular orientation toward worldly success and extracurricular student activities.[100] This vision of the place and purpose of college could be embraced by university presidents, alumni supporters, and collegians themselves. In the opening decades of the new century, it became the predominant image of American higher education.

This world, however, was far removed from that of the multipurpose colleges. Most of these institutions themselves persisted, but to survive in a new era they had to change their fundamental nature. The mixing of students from different age ranges and with different levels of preparation was antithetical to the emerging peer culture. Denominationalism fit uncomfortably with the lure of secular success. And, only the largest and wealthiest among them could readily, or credibly, emulate the disciplinary curriculum. Between 1890 and World War I, the multipurpose college for all practical purposes ceased to exist. The small liberal arts college, denominational or otherwise, would continue to constitute a distinctive sector, and a century later would be found once again fulfilling multiple purposes for a varied clientele.[101] But the era had passed for the institution that had characterized American higher education from 1850 to 1890.

NOTES

[1] This paper is a portion of a larger project, "Dynamics of Institutional Change in Higher Education: American Colleges and Universities in the Nineteenth Century," which has been aided by support from the Spencer Foundation. A longer draft entitled "The Transformation of the Colleges" was presented in a symposium at the 1995 meeting of the History of Education Society. I am grateful for the comments given there by Colin Burke, Wayne Durrill, Bruce Leslie, and James McLachlan, as well as for the helpful suggestions of Hugh Hawkins, David Jones, and Roger Williams.

[2] Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 264-68; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 361.

[3] In addition to Veysey, *Emergence:* Roger L. Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Development of the American Research University, 1900-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Sandra Oleson and John Voss, *The Organization of Knowledge in America, 1860-1920* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

[4] Colin B. Burke has described the antebellum colleges as "multi-level, multi-purpose institutions": *American Collegiate Populations: A Test of the Traditional View* (New York: New York University Press, 1982), 38.

[5] A large literature exists on the crisis of the colleges, but it is largely limited to the established and more traditional institutions of the Northeast: George Peterson, *The New England College in the Age of the University* (Amherst, Mass.: Amherst College Press, 1964); Marilyn Tobias, *Old Dartmouth on Trial* (New York: New York University Press, 1982); and W. Bruce Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the 'Age of the University,' 1865-1917* (State College, Penn.: Penn State Press, 1992). Studies of this phenomenon in Ohio focus on the colleges most closely resembling those in the East: John Barnard, *From Evangelicalism to Progressivism at Oberlin College, 1866-1917* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969); Nancy J. Cable, "The Search for Mission in Ohio Liberal Arts Colleges: Denison, Kenyon, Marietta, Oberlin, 1870-1914," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1984.

[6] The United States Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education* [annual publication, 1868, 1870-1914] (Washington, D.C.: GPO). Hereafter, RCE.

[7] RCE, 1870, 72.

[8] Colleges for women are separately analyzed in the earlier draft, "Transformation of the Colleges" (note 1).

[9] *Historical Statistics of the United States*. Unless indicated otherwise, all data is from the RCE.

[10] Enrollment by sex is incompletely reported for 1880 but estimated to be 4800 in coeducational colleges; the RCE reports 8075 for 1890. Enrollments in women's colleges of the traditional type exhibited no meaningful growth after 1880: see "Transformation" (note 1).

[11] The supposed 'unpopularity' of colleges was widely discussed in the 1880s. The basis for this notion was the stagnation of all collegiate enrollments relative to total population from 1874 to 1889 (RCE, 1900, 1874). A rejoinder to this argument was compiled by tracing male enrollments in 282 selected colleges from 1850 to 1890, and it found a 53.6% growth from 1881

to 1891 (Arthur M. Comey, "The Growth of Colleges in the United States," *Educational Review* 3 (1892): 120-31). Decile years account for some of the discrepancy. College enrollments seem to have exceeded population growth from the Civil War until the panic of 1873, then to have tracked population growth until 1888, rising sharply after that date.

[12]The opening dates of colleges have been taken from proximate editions of the RCE, thus minimizing the count of ephemeral institutions, while possibly missing some that claim earlier opening dates after the fact. This method produces a conservative record of foundings; only 15 more institutions are counted (357 + 131) than the 473 colleges listed for 1900. This estimation seems consistent with Colin Burke's careful enumeration of antebellum colleges. Thus, it represents a rough continuation of the data on institutions in *American Collegiate Populations*.

[13]The peak number of colleges of the traditional type was reached in 1893: *U.S. Bureau of Education, Biennial Survey of Education, 1916* [successor to the RCE], 5. For an estimation of all baccalaureate granting institutions in the United States over time, see Gloria J. Marshall, "The Survival of Colleges in America: A Census of Four-Year Colleges in the United States, 1636-1973," Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1995, 67. This 'census' is too broad to be relevant to this study.

[14]Derek de Solla Price, *Little Science, Big Science, and Beyond* (New York: Columbia University Press, [1963] 1986), 1-29.

[15] Table 2 does not reflect more than 10 scientific schools dating from 1845-60: organization of the Lawrence School of Science at Harvard (1847) and the Sheffield School at Yale (1848) were followed by several other schools of science in the 1850s. The same decade saw colleges of agriculture organized in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Maryland, New York, and Ohio. In addition, polytechnic colleges were launched in Philadelphia and Brooklyn. Schools of science are discussed in "Transformation" (note 1).

[16] Large individual philanthropic initiatives constituted an exogenous factor affecting the ounding and placement of colleges. They served chiefly to increase the density of institutions in settled regions, but are too few to distort the logistic pattern. Some consequences of philanthropy are discussed below. Also, see Roger L. Geiger, "Single Donor Universities," (Yale University Program on Non-Profit Organizations, May, 1995).

[17]Michael McGiffert, *The Higher Learning in Colorado: A Historical Study, 1860-1940* (Denver: Sage Books, 1964), 13.

[18] D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History. Vol. 2, Continental America, 1800-1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 262-63. See also, David K. Brown, "The Rise of U.S. Undergraduate Education: A Sociology of College-Founding, System-Building, and Credentialism, 1800-1930," Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University (1993), 116-29.

[19] C. Harve Geiger, *The Program of Higher Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Laurence Press, 1940), 55-59, 79. The earlier pattern was for individual founders (often ministers) to establish colleges in conjunction with communities: Cf. David B. Potts, *Baptist Colleges in the Development of American Society, 1812-1861* (New York: Garland, [1967] 1988), 11-78.

[20]David B. Potts, "American Colleges in the Nineteenth Century: From Localism to Denominationalism," *History of Education Quarterly* 11 (1971): 363-80. Most earlier colleges had

self-perpetuating boards of trustees (sometimes with ex-officio public members) and were thus not directly controlled by churches.

[21] Contemporaries regarded elaboration as axiomatic. The Baptist educator, Frederick T. Gates, surveyed the extent of Baptist coverage in the Midwest in 1888, observed that American colleges were "chiefly local in their patronage," and that they "create the demand for the higher culture which they supply." By measuring the "area of their attractive influence," he calculated that the 11 Baptist colleges served only one-fifth of Midwestern Baptists. Gates was criticizing the results of elaboration, which had produced "feeble institutions in obscure towns": "The Need of a Baptist University in Chicago, as Illustrated by a Study of Baptist Colleges in the West": Correspondence of Frederick T. Gates, 1988-1906, box 1, folder 2, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago. I would like to thank Bill Pugh for providing this document.

[22] The College of New Jersey chose to locate at Princeton in the 1750s after just such a process; however, the pattern of putting a college up for explicit bidding is characteristic of this era, and unusual before 1850. Potts, for example, emphasizes the interactions of founders, church bodies and communities. Perhaps two of his 16 Baptist colleges (Hillsdale and possibly Furman) chose the most lucrative offer for homes: *Baptist Colleges*, 11-78. Many of the Ohio colleges, discussed below, went to the highest bidder.

[23] Edward J. Power, *A History of Catholic Higher Education in the United States* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1958), 36-48.

[24] The seven-year course was considered the desirable standard after 1835, but the course lengths continued to vary widely. Interestingly, Catholic colleges were quite open to commercial studies around mid-century, but kept them separate from the A.B. course: Powers, *Catholic Higher Education*, 83-86.

[25] E.g., Villanova College operated from 1843-45, 1846-57, and continuously from 1865: David R. Contosta, *Villanova University: American—Catholic—Augustinian* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 17-25.

[26] Powers, *Catholic Higher Ed*, 333-39. Powers also provides a brief description of each college (255-332). His list is far larger than those reported in the RCE. All were initially men's colleges. Catholic colleges for women first appear at the end of the century and were founded in great numbers in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

[27] Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); Geiger, work in progress (note 1).

[28] Almost every institutional history of this period gives an account of the classical college curriculum; it is summarized as well in general histories. Indispensable for the expansion of scientific offerings is Stanley M. Guralnik, *Science and the Ante-Bellum American College* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1975); the later classical curriculum at Yale is described in minute detail by Lyman Bagg: *Four Years at Yale* (New Haven, 1871).

[29] One of the best treatments of these reforms, R. Freeman Butts, *The College Charts Its Course: Historical Conceptions and Current Proposals* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939), 131-43.

[30] The Report was written by President Jeremiah Day and Professor James L. Kingsley and published in *The American Journal of Science and Arts* 15 (Jan. 1829): 297-351. The bulk of the Report is reproduced in Hofstadter and Smith, *American Higher Education*, 275-91.

[31]Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 31-61.

[32]Both institutions were 'reformed' by Stephen Olin, president of Randolph-Macon, 1834-37, and Wesleyan, 1842-51: David B. Potts, *Wesleyan University, 1831-1910: Collegiate Enterprise in New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 24-27.

[33]These colleges did not necessarily train only ministers/teachers for the faith, but generally expressed this aim as their principal purpose in their founding documents.

[34]A virtual continuity existed between the more advanced academies and these fledgling colleges: Joseph F. Kett, *The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties: From Self-Improvement to Adult Education in America, 1750-1990* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 90-95. See also, Nancy Beadie, "From Academy to University in New York State: The Genesee Institutions and the Importance of Capital to the Success of an Idea, 1848-1871," *History of Higher Education Annual* 14 (1994): 13-38.

[35]The 'Market Revolution' is generally associated with the Jacksonian period: Charles Sellars, *The Market Revolution, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Sean Willentz, "Society, Politics, and the Market Revolution, 1815-1848," in *The New American History*, Eric Foner, ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 51-72. However, collegiate education reflected the social patterns that emerged in the wake of the market/transportation revolution, and is thus a 'lagging' social indicator. The differences between a frontier and a settled community can be traced in Don H. Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-1870* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1978); and Meinig, *Shaping of America*.

[36]Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 15-17, & passim.

[37]The following discussion of Ohio Colleges draws principally upon: George W. Knight and John R. Common, *The History of Higher Education in Ohio*, Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 5, 1891 (Washington: GPO, 1891); Charles A. Dominick, "Ohio's Antebellum Colleges," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1987; Steven R. Mark, "Ohio Colleges and Universities during the Gilded Age: Institutional Evolution, Elective Curriculum, Graduate Education, and Commercial Programs," Ph.D. dissertation, Bowling Green State University, 1991.

[38]An additional antebellum Methodist college, Wilberforce, was chartered for African-Americans in 1855 and transferred to the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1863.

[39]Western New York, which was closely linked with Ohio, had three antebellum coeducational colleges—Genesee, New York Central, and Alfred University: Kathryn M. Kerns, "Antebellum Higher Education for Women in Western New York State," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1993.

[40]Dominick, "Ohio's Antebellum Colleges," 248.

[41]Quoted in Dominick, "Ohio's Antebellum Colleges," 241; Mount Union has a discursive history, which includes an account of the even more unorthodox Scio College: Newell Yost Osborne, *A Select School: The History of Mount Union College and an Account of a Unique Educational Experiment, Scio College* (Mount Union College, 1967).

[42] A. B. Huston, *Historical Sketch of Farmer's College*, Ohio Historical Society Archives Library.

[43]Commons & Knight, *History ... Ohio*, 121.

[44]The obstacles facing a state university in Ohio are well described in William A. Kinnison, *Building Sullivant's Pyramid: An Administrative History of the Ohio State University* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1970).

[45]Cable, "Search for Mission"; Barnard, *Oberlin College*; RCE, 1879-80.

[46]John M. Ellis, "Historical Sketch of the Association of the Colleges of Ohio" [1889], reprinted in Knight & Commons, *History ... Ohio*, quote p. 246.

[47] The recommended chairs were: Latin, Greek, modern languages, mathematics, geology and natural history, chemistry and mineralogy, rhetoric, English and history, psychology, ethics and political science: ibid., 250.

[48] Ibid., 251.

[49]This neglected topic is one theme in the final chapter of Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*.

[50] Mount Union College's total enrollment topped 800 in 1872, yet the college was deeply in debt and badly in need of additional facilities. Student numbers then dropped below 400 in the mid-1880s. The ensuing financial crisis was finally resolved by the actions of several dedicated trustees; but at the end of the 1880s the college had no endowment and no library: Osborne, *Select Institution*, passim.

[51]Francis A. Walker, "The Place of Schools of Technology in American Education," *Educational Review* 2 (Oct. 1891): 209-19. The Schools of Science are treated in a section of "Transformation" (see Note 1).

[52]Kett, *Pursuit of Knowledge*, 90-95.

[53]Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*, 70; Walter C. Bronson, *The History of Brown University, 1764-1914* (Providence: 1914), 321-23; Morris Bishop, *A History of Cornell*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962), 90, 201-2.

[54]Allen Marquand, "College Students Who Are Not Candidates for a Degree," *Proceedings, College Association of the Middle States and Maryland* 3 (1889): 18-24. Marquand identifies three kinds of nondegree students: 1) "general" students, often admitted on conditions but unable to maintain the regular course; 2) mature "special" students, who sought only career-related subjects; and 3) "short-course" students, intending to enroll in professional schools without taking the full college course.

[55]Average professorial salary was $1,330 in Ohio in 1898: D. B. Purinton, "A Comparative Study of Colleges," *Transactions, Association of Ohio Colleges* 30 (1898): 14-25. Frederick Gates reported average professorial salaries at Western Baptist colleges in 1888 as $1015 (loc. cit., note 21, p. 11). Salaries in the East were about double those of the Midwest.

[56]RCE, 1900, 1882. Returns from invested funds appear to have been around 5%; Catholic colleges rarely reported financial data; 58 colleges reported some endowment short of $25,000; and 81 had $25,000-100,000.

[57]Deficits figure haphazardly in institutional histories, but are never treated systematically. The chronicler of Shurtleff College observed, "in no year of the history of the College, from 1827 to 1899, has the annual deficit failed to appear": Austin K. de Blois, *The Pioneer School* (New York: 1900), 251. Eastern colleges were no different: Potts, *Wesleyan*, 58, 91, 161-62; Princeton, despite its wealth, had an annual deficit that was covered by the trustees: John M. Mulder, *Woodrow Wilson: The Years of Preparation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 164-65. Excessive debt was often the single factor causing colleges to close.

[58]See Beadie, "Academy to University," and Dominick, "Ohio's Antebellum Colleges," 206-7: Subscriptions were the bane of many antebellum colleges: they were sold far too cheaply—a typical rate being $25 for six years of tuition, $50 for 18, and $100 for tuition in perpetuity for any holder. Often sold by agents, some of the funds never reached the colleges; other proceeds were spent instead of invested.

[59]Paul M. Limbert, *Denominational Policies in the Support and Supervision of Higher Education* (New York: Teachers College, 1929).

[60]Knight & Commons, *History ... Ohio*, 188; Osborne, *Select Institutions*, 202;

[61]Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*, 222-24 & passim; Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967).

[62]The distinction between the urban phenomenon of relatively long-term employment and the rural/small-town pattern of finding a livelihood, often by trying several occupations, needs further clarification. A college education did not at this juncture offer credentials for the former, but may well have provided useful skills for the latter.

[63]William D. Overman, "Universities, Colleges, and Normal Schools in Ohio" (Columbus: The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1940).

[64]Commissioner of Education W. T. Harris noted in 1891 that since the Civil War there had been a "General elevation of the standard of admission to college by about one and one-half to two years.... [As a result,] the numerous smaller colleges having given up a year or more of their work to the preparatory schools feel very keenly the loss of students. Inasmuch as the larger colleges have developed into universities, there is evident the beginning of a crusade against the small college that will force it to step down into the work of secondary education and renounce the work of higher instruction" (RCE, 1891, lvi). Harris felt that the colleges could avoid this fate by deemphasizing ancient languages in admissions and leaving "the fourth stage of education" to universities; however, the status of the colleges remained uncertain in this sympathetic commentary.

[65]Hugh Hawkins, *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 116-19; Hawkins presents Eliot's position on all of the educational sectors discussed below.

[66]Charles K. Adams, "The Coordination of Colleges and Universities," and Daniel Coit Gilman, "The Shortening of the College Curriculum," *Proceedings, The College Association of the Middle States and Maryland* 2 (1890): 4-16, 16-20.

[67]Andrew D. White, "The Future of American Universities," *North American Review* 151 (Aug. 1890): 443-52, quotes 446, 452.

[68] These views appear in *Transactions, Association of Ohio Colleges*: C. L. Ehrenfeld, "The Aim of the College," 19 (1887): 6-19; T. J. Sanders, "The Place and Purpose of the College," 30 (1898): 5-14.

[69] Fear of encroachment on the college course were raised by, 1) academies that allegedly overprepared students; 2) Harvard's practice of raising admissions requirements, which were estimated to effectively add a year to secondary studies; and 3) Central High School of Philadelphia, which was chartered to offer the B.A. in these years and appeared on the college lists of the RCE.

[70] William DeWitt Hyde [Pres. Bowdoin], "The Future of the Country College," *Atlantic Monthly* 62 (Dec. 1888), 721-6;

[71] Edward H. Magill [Pres. Swarthmore], "The Relations of the College to the University," *Proceedings, The College Association of Pennsylvania* 2 (1888): 17-20.

[72] Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School, 1880-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 123-45, & passim; Edwin C. Broome, *A Historical and Critical Discussion of College Admission Requirements* (New York: Macmillan, 1903); RCE, 1897, 467.

[73] *Transactions, Association of Ohio Colleges*, 20 (1888): 20-30; 21 (1889): 70f.; 23 (1891): 85-87; 31 (1899): 53; 32 (1900): 37.

[74] Greek requirements had been the bottleneck of college access throughout the nineteenth century and a cause for alternative degree courses after 1850. The refusal of public schools to accept this task (except perhaps in Massachusetts) guaranteed that this portal was too constricted for American higher education in a new era. Just 2% of public high school students in Ohio were enrolled in Greek in 1890, and that proportion fell during the decade. Latin, in contrast, flourished for a time; enrollments rose above 50% of high school students in Ohio and nationwide by 1900. This date probably represents the apogee of college influence over public schools.

[75] Broome, *College Admission Requirements*.

[76] E. B. Wakefield, "The Mission of the Endowed Colleges," *Transactions, Association of Ohio Colleges*, 32 (1900).

[77] Enrollments from RCE, 1900, and Table 5, above; see also Nancy Jane Cable, "The Search for Mission in Ohio Liberal Arts Colleges: Denison, Kenyon, Marietta, Oberlin, 1870-1914," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1984.

[78] Edwin Slosson, *The Great American Universities* (New York: 1910); Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge*.

[79] Ellis, "Association of Ohio Colleges"; Among diploma mills, Taylor University of Upland, Indiana stands out for conferring 96 Ph.D.s in 1900 and 1901; Gale College in Galesville, Wisconsin, granted 15 doctorates in 1899. Such remarkable bursts of doctorates were short-lived, indicating a stigma associated with the practice.

[80] Mark, "Ohio Colleges," 384-412: Mark lists the following programs—Denison, Findlay, Heidelberg, Mount Union, Ohio State, Ohio University, Ohio Wesleyan, Otterbein, St. Xavier, Cincinnati, Wittenberg, and Wooster; however, Ph.D.s were conferred by Richmond and Oxford as well in the 1890s.

[51] Ibid., 616.

[52] RCE, 1890, 758-59; Hugh Hawkins, *Banding Together: The Rise of National Associations in American Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge*, 18-19.

[53] Robert Kohler concludes that 'collegiate doctorates' largely ceased by 1903: "The Ph.D. Machine: Building on the Collegiate Base," *Isis* 81 (1990): 638-62 [643]. The RCE list of doctorates for 1905 (p. 542) shows at least 21 dubious degrees out of 361 awarded.

[54] The percentages of college graduates among reporting schools for 1890 (when this data is available) may be estimated as follows: Theology, 28.7%; Law, 34.5%; Medicine, 14%. Since it is unlikely that nonreporting schools equaled these levels, the true figure probably lies between these percentages and those given in Table 8.

[55] Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars*, 227. The Harvard Divinity School actually traces a pattern similar to medicine and law (described below): admissions were open to high school graduates when Eliot became president; only in 1882 was a college degree or its equivalent required of *degree* candidates: Samuel Eliot Morison, ed., *The Development of Harvard University Since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869-1929* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), 463-8.

[56] Joseph Kett, *The Formation of the American Medical Profession: The Role of Institutions, 1780-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 14-30; John S. Haller, Jr., *American Medicine in Transition, 1840-1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 200-01; Alfred Z. Reed, *Training for the Public Profession of the Law* (New York: Scribner's, 1921), 67-73; Robert Stevens, *Law School: Legal Education in America from the 1850s to the 1980s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 69.

[57] The following account draws on Haller, *American Medicine*; Martin Kaufman, *American Medical Education: The Formative Years, 1765-1910* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976); William G. Rothstein, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); and Kenneth M. Ludmerer, *Learning to Heal: The Development of American Medical Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1985). For conditions in 1870, see Charles Warren, "Medical Education in the United States," RCE, 1870, 384-96.

[58] Warren wrote: "the medical colleges of this country are mostly joint-stock corporations, who furnish as little medical education as they can sell at the highest rate they can obtain. Their number is excessive, and the competition between them very keen. They are consequently disinclined to introduce any new features which may scare students of low acquirement away, or which may add seriously to the expenses of the institution (ibid., 395).

[59] Thomas Bonner estimated that 15,000 American physicians studied at German or German-language universities from 1870 to 1914: *American Doctors and German Universities: A Chapter in International Intellectual Relations, 1870-1914* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 23.

[60] For an account of the meager progress of reform: RCE, 1883, clxv-clxxix; Rothstein, *American Physicians*, 285.

[91] Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910); Ludmerer, *Learning to Heal*, 93-101, 168-190.

[92] Rothstein, *American Physicians*, 285-88: An American Medical College Association had existed from 1876 to 1882, but it expired from an inability of its membership to accede to the new reforms.

[93] On legal education in this era, see Stevens, *Law School*; and Reed, *Training for ... the Law*.

[94] Cf. the chronological list of law schools in Reed, *Training for ... the Law*, 423-30.

[95] This account oversimplifies a complex picture. Earlier legal education was often designed to be part-time because students were assumed to be spending the remainder of their time in law offices. Some universities (Minnesota, New York U.) developed parallel day and night programs. See Ibid., 394-402.

[96] Kett, *The Pursuit of Knowledge*, 261-9.

[97] A rough count (given definitional ambiguities) shows 37 such schools failing versus 6 enduring to 1920 at Illinois Wesleyan (f. 1874), Drake (f. 1875), Valparaiso (f. 1879), Willamette (f. 1884), Ohio Northern (f. 1885), and Wake Forest (f. 1895).

[98] Reliable degree totals are suprisingly elusive: Bachelor's degrees for 1880 are estimated; for 1890 are those of 1888; professional degrees from Reed, *Training for ... the Law*, 443.

[99] Seth Low, "Higher Education in the United States," *Proceedings, The College Association of the Middle States and Maryland* 4 (1892): 50-60, quote p. 58.

[100] Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars*, 189f.

[101] "Liberal Arts II Colleges" (as defined in the pre-1994 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Classification of Institutions of Higher Education*) granted a majority of degrees in vocational subjects and offered both short courses and master's degrees to students of all ages. Often the lineal descendants of multipurpose colleges, they had apparently rediscovered their spirit as well.

A "Curious Working of Cross Purposes" in the Founding of the University of Chicago

WILLARD J. PUGH

In 1888, Frederick T. Gates, Corresponding Secretary of the American Baptist Education Society, completed a survey of Baptist higher education in the United States and presented his findings at a Baptist clergy conference in Chicago. From his study of the Western frontier, he predicted that Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, and the Dakotas would become the population center of the United States and the "ultimate base of American power." He discovered that Baptist colleges in this area were "unevenly distributed, feeble in resources, narrow in area of attractive influence, and obscurely located." Only 54 percent of the students in these colleges completed a four-year program and only 25 male students graduated each year. The level of instruction was rudimentary and the colleges were poorly endowed. Gates estimated that 5,000 Baptist students were lost each year to state universities and rival sectarian colleges. He predicted that the West would soon contain the majority of northern Baptists, arged that Western education be a Baptist priority. He presented two alternatives: the Baptists might erect more frontier colleges such as Kalamazoo, Shurtleff, and William Jewell, or they could concentrate on major cities such as Denver, Minneapolis, and Chicago. Gates preferred the latter. He described Chicago as "the most commanding social, financial, literary, and religious eminence in the west," and exhorted its pastors to establish a Baptist college. Graduate education and faculty research did not appear in his report: for Western Baptists these were not important issues.[1]

When Gates completed his survey, Baptists were already contemplating plans for a "first class college" in Chicago, a graduate research university with no college in New York, and a national university in Washington, D.C. John D. Rockefeller was expected to become the patron of these institutions. On a carriage ride in Central Park in 1887, Rockefeller invited Yale University professor William Rainey Harper to participate in the founding of the graduate research university in New York, conceived by Augustus H. Strong. Rockefeller finally rejected this idea, but Harper never forgot their conversation. When later offered the presidency of a Baptist college in Chicago, Harper held out for something higher. At a meeting in Poughkeepsie, New York, he concluded that Rockefeller was planning to establish the graduate research university in Chicago. He persuaded Rockefeller to provide an endowment for graduate studies at that college, which became the University of Chicago, and the founding of a graduate research university became the great prepossession of his life. Shortly before its opening in 1892, the University of Chicago was contrasted with Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, described as essentially colleges; and Harper announced that research would be primary at Chicago. Harper and his head professors envisioned a graduate research university, but Rockefeller and the Chicago Baptists had foreseen a college. This created a "curious working of cross purposes." Rockefeller's gifts provided

generous salaries for Chicago's head professors, and several buildings; but they did not provide the "material requisites" for research, including a central library, laboratories, apparatus, or funds for specific research projects. When Chicago's other major donors failed to provide the required funds, Harper promoted the University's vast horizontal expansion. He emphasized teaching and undergraduate work, and colleges became more prominent in his organizational plan. These developments gradually shifted the University's "center of gravity."[2]

Two major histories have been written of the Harper administration. In 1916, Thomas W. Goodspeed completed *A History of the University of Chicago: The First Quarter-Century*; and in 1966, Richard J. Storr published *Harper's University: The Beginnings*. Goodspeed's history is essentially a story of the evolution of the college that he conceived. He links the University with two other Chicago institutions that he regarded as its precursors: the first University of Chicago and the Baptist Union Theological Seminary. His history begins with brief sketches of these two institutions which "prepared the way" for the university founded by Rockefeller. Goodspeed was a graduate of the first University of Chicago and a fundraiser for the Baptist Union Theological Seminary. He was also preoccupied with the financial side of the University. One of his aims was to recognize the University's major donors. According to his biographer, his participation in the University's first million-dollar fundraising campaign was the "great adventure" of his life. The University's horizontal expansion is his major theme.[3]

Richard J. Storr's history assesses several dimensions of the University's academic side: Harper's negotiations with several key academics, the shaping of the college curriculum, the University's extramural work, the conception of the colleges, certain graduate departments, and the professional schools. Storr presents Chicago's beginnings in a somewhat broader context, and its financial side with greater precision. He studies the relationship between Rockefeller and Harper and focuses chiefly on the issues confronting Harper as administrator.[4]

Both historians have neglected a vast amount of published and archival material pertaining to the Harper administration. Their histories do not present the "curious working of cross purposes," the conflict between Harper's efforts to create Augustus Strong's great graduate university in Chicago and Rockefeller's plans to endow a "first class college." Their histories suggest that Harper's emphasis on the primacy of research, and his recruitment of scientists and scholars who expected to advance knowledge, were relatively minor aspects of the University's beginnings. In the fourteenth chapter of his history, Goodspeed explains that each of the University's departments "has a history which deserves to be told," but he admits that it was not his purpose to do this. His work was closely watched and edited by Gates, and the results were not completely candid. In his "Reminiscences," Goodspeed describes in greater detail Harper's plan to create Augustus Strong's great graduate university in Chicago. Storr refers to Strong's "obsessive dream" of a graduate university in New York, but he asserts that "Harper never beat the drum" for it. Evidently, Storr did not realize that the founding of a great graduate university in Chicago was also Harper's "obsessive dream."[5]

Laurence Veysey recognized the importance of graduate education and research at Chicago, but he sensed that research was "blended" and "reconciled" with the aims of "public service" and "liberal culture." In *The Emergence of the American University*, Veysey argued that although Harper "promoted research with undeniable zeal," his emphasis was "uneven," and his primary aim was empire building. Veysey concluded that "Chicago never clearly 'stood for' anything in the sense that Cornell had stood for democracy and Johns Hopkins had stood for research." This observation suggests that Veysey did not appreciate the "cross purposes" of the University's founding fathers.[6]

The University of Chicago emerged in the final decade of a century dominated by the founding of denominational colleges. From the Revoluation to the early nineteenth century, the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches were the leaders of this "college movement." The Baptists, who were initially opposed to national organization and regionally divided over the issue of an educated ministry, entered this movement reluctantly. Prior to 1820, the only college established under Baptist auspices was the College of Rhode Island. Beginning in the 1820s, Baptists established colleges throughout the United States, mostly in rural locations. By 1890, Baptists in the East were contemplating a graduate university inspired by German example.[7]

Americans returning from the German universities during the nineteenth century recognized Germany leadership in scientific and scholarly research. They suggested that American universities should adopt features of the German universities, and particularly their dual emphasis on teaching and research. In 1861, Yale became the first American university to award the Ph.D., but the most ambitious American response to the German model was the founding of Johns Hopkins University in 1876, which marked the beginning of a new order of universities in the United States devoted to education and faculty research.

The founders of the University of Chicago were aware of these developments, but they held differing views on the issues confronting the Baptists. Goodspeed was primarily concerned about the educational needs of Baptists in Chicago and the proper training of Baptist pastors. Gates scanned the entire Midwest and advocated less randomness and greater centralization in the location of Baptist colleges. Prominent Baptists in the East envisioned graduate research institutions. Harper supported each of these plans. Rockefeller awaited a consensus. Ultimately he accepted a compromise.

CHICAGO

When Gates completed his survey, major plans for higher education were being developed by Baptists in Chicago, New York, and Washington. The first University of Chicago expired in 1886, due to its failure to pay off debts incurred with the construction of its main building. Following its foreclosure, Goodspeed of the Baptist Union Theological Seminary in Morgan Park conceived a plan to establish a college as an adjunct to the Seminary. Prior to 1886, the Seminary held its classes at the first University of Chicago, which was situated on the south side of the city. In 1887, Goodspeed issued a two-thousand word statement outlining his rationale for organiz-

ing a new university in Chicago. Observing that Baptists had no superior educational institution in the West, he argued that a "first class college" would "aid in raising up an educated ministry." He described Chicago as "the commercial, political, social, religious, educational center of a wide empire," and remarked that the proposed institution would certainly become "the greatest in our denomination." He decided that the cost of establishing a college in the city was prohibitive, and he recommended the suburb of Morgan Park, where Baptists were offered a $24,000 building, 20 acres of land, and a $5,000 pledge for a new college building. Goodspeed added that he had already acquired the 7,000-volume library of the first University of Chicago, and that certain members of the Seminary faculty were willing to assist the college in its opening years by volunteering to teach. With the provision of "ample grounds, two buildings, a library and $150,000 endowment," the Baptist brethren would rally, student enrollment would swell, new departments would be added, and the college would finally rank with such leading Baptist universities as Rochester and Hamilton. His proposal was endorsed by William Rainey Harper, a former instructor at the Seminary, who had rejected an opportunity to be President of the first University of Chicago prior to its closing. Goodspeed estimated that this project would require a founder's pledge of at least $50,000, and in January, 1887, he and Harper wrote to enlist the support of Standard Oil Company president John D. Rockefeller, a leading patron of the Seminary.[8]

Rockefeller reviewed the Goodspeed and Harper communications, and referred them to Rochester Theological Seminary president Augustus Hopkins Strong, whom he had known in Cleveland's Baptist circles. Strong was an alumnus of Yale College and of the Rochester Theological Seminary who had also studied at the University of Berlin. Strong was "happy to commend Dr. Goodspeed's plan," but he qualified this by observing that the Morgan Park Seminary was "planted in the mud" in a "forlorn" setting twelve miles south of Chicago. He sensed that another feeble college would fail to attract Chicago students and Chicago philanthropy, arguing instead that the institution should be placed in the city with a much larger endowment.[9]

NEW YORK

Rockefeller's apparent interest in the Morgan Park proposal prompted Strong to reinstate an earlier plan of his for a Baptist university in New York City. In his correspondence with Rockefeller, beginning in January, 1887, Strong had described the deficiencies of Baptist higher education and the need for a Baptist university at the nation's commerical capital. He reported that the Baptists were "unspeakably behindhand" in educational matters: instead of building for the future, they were allowing rival denominations to surpass them in educational planning. The denomination had no seminary equal to the Union Theological Seminary in New York, and no college as influential as the leading Eastern colleges. The "best and brightest" Baptists were deserting the denomination to study at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. He proposed a university, combined with a theological seminary, "where, as at Johns

Hopkins, there shall be a large number of fellowships, where research shall be endowed, where the brightest men shall be attracted and helped through their studies, where the institution itself shall furnish a real society of people distinguished in science and art." In a later postscript he remarked that the institution would not compete with any Baptist college or seminary—that it would be "a University proper, an institution for advanced students only," and that his principal objective was the "endowment of higher education and research."[10]

During the summer of 1887, Strong vacationed with Rockefeller in Europe and presented "the whole story" of his plan for a graduate university in New York. He had developed and discussed his ideas with Rockefeller beginning in 1880, and later he outlined them in "A Detailed Argument and Plan," which he distributed to leaders of the Baptist Church. In this pamphlet he defined the university as a graduate institution with no college. It would offer professional training and train original investigators. Strong was familiar with the writings of Daniel Coit Gilman and with the founding of Johns Hopkins University, and he felt that Hopkins had compromised its high standards by including a college in its plans. He urged the Baptists to institute "a true University of the highest sort" in emulation of the world-leading University of Berlin.[11]

Strong believed that a metropolis was the only suitable location for a such a university. He reported that European students were trained in major cities, and he predicted a similar development for the United States. He detected two signs of this shift: graduates of Yale were leaving New Haven to study law, medicine, and theology in New York; and the Harvard Medical School had been moved to Boston. Strong suspected that Cambridge and New Haven were destined to decline as America became more urbanized. He also felt that the founder of Stanford may have imperiled its prospects by locating it on a farm in Palo Alto. He urged the Baptists to "capture New York" by creating "a true university." He imagined it "on the grounds of the present Bloomingdale Asylum," which was located between Broadway and Amsterdam Avenue just north of 116th Street.[12]

Strong estimated that his university would require an initial endowment of $4 million, and 16 annual supplements of $1 million, for a total of $20 million. He envisioned a Department of Philosophy and Arts something like the philosophical faculty at Johns Hopkins, with professorships in "Philosophy, Political Economy, Rhetoric, Logic, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, German, French, English, Romance Languages, Comparative Philology, History, Mathematics, [and] Pedagogics." He proposed "the endowment of medical research" and studies in "Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Morphology, Applied Mathematics, Geology, Mineralogy, Electricity, Zoology, Agriculture, Botany, Mechanical Engineering, Civil Engineering, [and] Optics." An endowment for the sciences would support "original research." On this subject he remarked that the investigations of professors at Johns Hopkins, such as physicist Henry A. Rowland, had earned Johns Hopkins "a name throughout the civilized world." Like Johns Hopkins his university would promote the higher work, but it would exclude undergraduates and provide schools of law, medicine, and theology. Strongs emphasis on graduate education and scientific research added a new dimension to the Baptist discussions.[13]

Despite its progressive features, his plan contained several concessions to Baptist evangelicalism. The theology department would occupy "the centre of the whole." The science departments would be expected to supplement the "half-truth" of evolutionism by supporting "God's creatorship, governance and miraculous interposition." Infidels would be excluded from the faculty. The university president would be an ordained Baptist minister who had mastered the tenets of "moral science." Instead of mirroring the methods of the German seminar, the university would require "frequent recitation and examination." And it would propagate "distinctively Christian truth."[14]

On September 24, 1887, Strong met with William Rainey Harper to enlist his support for this plan. Following their brief encounter, Strong told Rockefeller that the Yale professor viewed it as a "practicable plan" which would "transform our whole denomination in ten years, both in New York and in the country." He remarked that Harper was willing to "give his whole life to such enterprise if he could further it." But he added that Yale president Timothy Dwight was trying to keep him in New Haven by offering him the headship of a department of linguistics, and by asking him "to organize at Yale somewhat the same scheme of general linguistic study by post-graduates which I want him to do in New York." Strong described Harper as a teacher, scholar, and editor of Old Testament studies. As an editor he was "trying to imitate the work of the Professors at Johns Hopkins, who spread abroad in periodicals printed with the sanction of the University, the results of the investigations made in their several departments." Strong argued that the loss of Harper would be "the greatest loss our denomination has sustained during this century." And four days after their meeting, he reported: "Professor Harper sees that there is no possibility of New Haven's competing with New York in University instruction and therefore jumps at the chance of carrying out my plan." In urging Rockefeller to act immediately on the proposal, Strong's proddings apparently became excessive. On November 30 Rockefeller decided to end all further discussion. His decision delivered a deathblow to Strong's project, but these aspirations were not forgotten.[15]

At the beginning of November, Rockefeller had arranged a private meeting with Harper. Harper later confided to one of his assistants that Rockefeller had taken him "riding in Central Park behind a span of very valuable horses, that they had talked for hours, that Mr. R. had put him through the greatest examination he had ever been subjected to, asking him all about his plans, his family, his studies, etc. etc. and had unfolded to him a plan he was considering of putting $8 [million] or $10,000,000 into the founding of a great University in New York City in which he wished Dr. Harper to have a leading place." The ride in Central Park marked a major turning point in the Baptist negotiations: Harper sensed that Rockefeller was planning a great graduate university, and he became a key negotiator in the events that followed.[16]

WASHINGTON

In addition to the Baptist plans for Morgan Park and New York, president James C. Welling was hoping to transform Columbian University in Washington, D.C. into a national university—the realization of the plans of George Washington, Thomas

Jefferson, and James Madison to erect "A Great National University at the Seat of the Federal Government." Welling described Washington as the science capital of the United States, and as the annual gathering place of American learned societies. Under leaders such as Columbian University trustee Joseph Henry the city had assembled a corps of some six hundred scientists. It was also the headquarters of several societies of science, including the Anthropological Society, the Biological Society, the Botanical Society, the Chemical Society, the Mathematical Section of the Philosophical Society, and the National Geographic Society. The city boasted America's largest libraries, and the National Museum collections of natural history, archeology, ethnology, orientalia, and American Indian artifacts.[17]

Welling pointedly observed that Harvard, Yale, and Princeton had to fund their own libraries, laboratories, and museums; but Columbian could utilize the abundant resources of the federal government. He also noted that Andrew Dickson White, the former president of Cornell, had suggested that a "great university" in Washington might equal the University of Berlin in the achievements of its faculty. Welling reported that Columbian had already established a college, and schools of science, medicine, dentistry and law. He planned to establish "a School of Politics and of Public Economy," and studies in humanities, linguistics, pedagogy, philosophy, and theology. He expected to promote faculty research, and to encourage the publication of research findings in fields such as comparative philology, Egyptology, Assyriology, and "the new Psychology." He urged the Baptists to act quickly lest a "full-fledged" university such as Johns Hopkins be established in Washington by another group. Welling's ideas were remarkably similar to those of Augustus Strong. In fact, he confided that his plan was "precisely Strong's," and that he hoped to abolish Columbian's college. In 1888, a committee appointed by the American Baptist Education Society reviewed the Columbian proposal. Prominent among its members was William Rainey Harper.[18]

NEGOTIATING THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Proponents of the Chicago, New York, and Washington proposals shared one thing in common: they were waiting for John D. Rockefeller. On October 13, 1888, he appeared in Poughkeepsie and met with Vassar College president James M. Taylor and William Rainey Harper who was teaching weekend Bible study classes. Harper reported to Goodspeed that during this visit Rockefeller "talked for hours in reference to the scheme of establishing the great University at Chicago instead of New York." Rockefeller had compiled "a list of reasons why it would be better to go to Chicago than to remain in New York," and Harper felt that the New York endowment might be "diverted to Chicago." Harper reported that Rockefeller was "practically committed to the thing," and that the "great plan" was for "(1) a college and university at Chicago; (2) a theological seminary of high grade in New York City; (3) the organization of colleges in the West." Harper felt that the plan was "absolutely certain," and that the scale of the institution was the only matter unresolved. He sensed that Rockefeller was

prepared to endow a much larger project than the Morgan Park proposal, and he added: "I have every time claimed that nothing less than four millions would be satisfactory to begin with, and have expressed my desire for five."[19]

Two days after this meeting, Gates presented his findings on Baptist higher education at a conference in Chicago, and a copy of his report was sent to Harper and Rockefeller. The report reinforced the perception that a college in Chicago was a Baptist priority. During the summer of 1888, Gates had been pondering "the Baptist educational chess board" for a strategic move that would solve the denomination's problems. He opposed the further endowment of its "neglected, feeble, and ill-patronized colleges," which were "condemned to an early death by reason of impossible locations in remote country hamlets." After reviewing a manuscript of Strong's proposal, he concluded that the Baptists would be reluctant to adopt a "great supplemental University," even though the idea was supported by "some forty leading Baptists divines and influential laymen of the East." And Strong had indicated that Rockefeller was not prepared to launch a twenty million dollar project. Gates was also skeptical about the Washington proposal. He characterized the nation's capital as a transient community, lacking in "permanent local wealth." He felt that federal libraries, laboratories, and museums could never replace the privately-held resources of a university, and he concluded that a national university in Washington was "illusory." He perceived that the Baptists would be more receptive to a national network of academies and colleges which would address local community needs. And he felt that Strong's scheme might be trimmed at the top, and broadened at the base, into a symmetrical educational system, "graduated from the home upward," with a university in New York and colleges and academies strategically planted throughout the United States. Gates predicted that Rockefeller would be captivated by "a scheme so vast, so continental, so orderly, so comprehensive, so detailed." And Gates thought that Strong would be willing to revise his plan accordingly.[20]

On November 9, Goodspeed proposed a $2 million college in Chicago and a Rockefeller pledge of $1.5 million. Sensing that the plan had been compromised, Harper recommended "a University of the highest character, having also a college." Goodspeed was concerned about Augustus Strong's reaction to the Chicago proposal, and he urged Harper to disavow the notion that the "great university" was being planned for Chicago. Goodspeed envisioned "a first class College with certain graduate departments, a western Yale." And he wrote to Gates: "In regard to Dr. Strong, he is really in favor of what we want here. We do not want the great University he has planned consisting of post graduate departments only, to cost $30,000,000 or $40,000,000. . . . But we do want an institution of the first rank among American institutions and I understand Dr. S. to favor this." Sensing that Strong's support was needed to consummate the plan, Goodspeed cautioned Gates to project a more modest image of the Chicago proposal: Strong "should be led to feel that this is not his University transferred to Chicago but something radically different."[21]

On December 3, 1888, Gates presented an edited version of his Chicago address to the Executive Board of the American Baptist Education Society in Washington. At the organizational meeting of the Society in May 1888, some of its prominent members

expected the Columbian University project to be a Baptist priority, and a majority of the Executive Board was selected accordingly. The meeting was held on the Columbian University campus, and Washington was expected to become the national headquarters of the Society. James C. Welling referred to the Columbian proposal as "the first duty of Baptists." Harper countered by reporting that John D. Rockefeller had endorsed the Chicago plan. The Board voted unanimously to establish a "thoroughly equipped Baptist institution of learning in Chicago," and this project became a Baptist priority. Strong and Welling sensed that these developments would not eclipse their respective plans, and they resumed their respective campaigns for the "great university."[22]

In January 1889, Gates recommended to Rockefeller that the question of a university at Chicago should be "held in abeyance," and that the founding of a college would "almost of necessity be the exclusive work of the earlier years." Gates felt that a college in Chicago was a denominational priority, but he opposed the endowment of a "great university" in Washington, New York, or Chicago. Rockefeller asked Gates to evaluate the viability of the Chicago proposal, and a nine-member Committee of Inquiry, headed by Harper, endorsed the basic points of a paper submitted by Goodspeed for a Baptist college in Chicago. On May 18, 1889, the American Baptist Education Society endorsed the Chicago proposal, and Gates announced that Rockefeller would contribute $600,000 for the college.[23]

Once the Chicago proposal was adopted, Harper became the leading candidate for the college presidency. Augustus Strong questioned his religious orthodoxy and Yale president Timothy Dwight offered him the deanship of the Faculty of Philosophy and Fine Arts and the headship of the Semitics Department. But, Harper, as Gates recalled, was mainly concerned about continuing "his chosen life work of Old Testament research, criticism, and instruction." Goodspeed wrote that Harper was ultimately drawn to Chicago primarily because of his interest in creating a university, as opposed to a college. On July 31, 1890, Harper wrote to Goodspeed that "what ought to be done, what the denomination will expect, what the world will expect" could only be achieved with "an assurance of an additional million." And on August 9, 1890, Harper wrote to Rockefeller:

> The denomination and indeed the whole country, are expecting the University of Chicago to be from the very beginning an institution of the highest rank and character. Already it is talked of in connection with Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Johns Hopkins, the University of Michigan and Cornell. No one expects that it will be in any respect lower in grade and equipment than the average of the institutions to which I have referred, and yet with the money pledged I cannot understand how the expectations can be fulfilled. Naturally we ought to be willing to begin small and to grow, but in these days when things are done so rapidly and with the example of Johns Hopkins before our eyes, it seems a great pity to wait for growth when we might be born full-fledged.[24]

This letter, and Rockefeller's response to it, marked a major turning point in the negotiations. Harper was signaling to Rockefeller that a small Baptist college in Chicago was unacceptable to him: that Baptists needed a great university similar to the one envisioned by Augustus Strong. Rockefeller responded with an additional pledge of one million dollars, thus making possible a graduate institution. Harper, however, intensified his campaign for "the great university." In November 1890, he proposed the merger of Columbian University with the University of Chicago, and confided that his coming to Chicago was contingent on this. According to Gates, Harper sought this merger "tenaciously" until the end of his life.[25]

In his personal "Reminiscences," Goodspeed argued that "Dr. Strong's great graduate University in Chicago" was "almost precisely" what Harper wanted, "and what in case he became its President he was determined to have." Goodspeed elaborated:

> He wanted from the outset a great graduate University, with an undergraduate department as a temporary concession to the weakness of the founder and the Chicago brethren. He did not hesitate to say that it was his purpose to transfer the work of the Junior College to Morgan Park. His plan was a graduate University. Under the pressure of the opposing views of Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Gates and myself & the impossibility of securing the necessary initial fund of four million dollars, he temporarily gave up, or seemed to give up. But he renounced at the same time any intention of accepting the Presidency, which Mr. Gates & I, from the first, insisted he must take. The presidency of a mere college had no attraction for him.

At this stage, Harper became the key player in the negotiations. His recognition as the leading candidate for the college presidency, and his stature as a leading Baptist scholar, became his bargaining chips.[26]

WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

As he approached the prospect of creating "Dr. Strong's great graduate University in Chicago," Harper capitalized on his experience as a student, teacher, editor and scholar. He began his meteoric career as an undergraduate at Muskingum College in New Concord, Ohio. In 1875, when he was eighteen years old, he completed his doctoral studies at Yale and received one of the first Ph.D.s awarded at an American university.[27] He taught successively at Masonic College in Macon, Tennessee; at Denison University in Granville, Ohio; and at the Baptist Union Theological Seminary in Morgan Park, Illinois. He established the American Institute of Hebrew, served as Principal of the Chautauqua College of Liberal Arts, and edited two journals: *The Hebrew Student*, which was later called *The Old Testament Student*, and *Hebraica*. In 1886, he accepted

a professorship in Semitic languages at Yale and an instructorship in Hebrew at the Yale Divinity School. Three years later he was appointed Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature at Yale.[28]

In the decade prior to the opening of the University of Chicago, Harper's interest in higher education and research was reflected primarily in his journal articles and editorials. In the first issue of *The Hebrew Student*, he alerted his American readers to some of the heated controversies of German scholarship, including the publication of Julius Welhausen's *History of Israel* and the ensuing debate over the authorship of the first five books of the Bible. In his earliest journals, he described the progress of Semitic and biblical studies in Germany and listed examples of courses offered at the German universities. These reports were prominent features of Harper's journals. In 1884 he founded *Hebraica*, a more specialized journal of Semitic philology intended to "encourage original investigation" and to serve as a medium of communication for Semitic scholars.[29]

In the second issue of *The Hebrew Student*, Harper wrote that Germany was the world leader in Old Testament and Semitic scholarship: "In no other country do men give themselves up so entirely, so unreservedly to research and investigation; in no other country do men go down so deep." Harper qualified this by suggesting that German "depth" sometimes bewildered the American scholar, who preferred less "depth" and greater clarity. He observed that German academics were excessive in research, while Americans emphasized teaching at the expense of investigation. In his later notes on progress at the German universities, he suggested that German scholars were superior to American scholars because the latter had not discovered "the secret of independent research and original investigation." Harper argued that American scholars used reference books and "second-hand" interpretations rather than primary authors and original sources.[30]

In American universities reports on Old Testament and Semitic scholarship also appeared as regular features of his journals. In 1886, he contested the notion that an American student needed to "finish" his work at a European university. Sensing that the benefits of European study were overrated, he argued that American academics were generally better teachers. German research findings were accessible to American students in the numerous publications of the German presses, and an American student would profit most from European study when he could "stand alone," after mastering the rudiments of his subject. In 1890, he saw signs that "investigation, as distinguished from mere teaching" was beginning in the leading American universities.[31]

In the field of Semitic philology, Harper outlined a research agenda for scholars. His long checklist of challenges included the discovery, interpretation, and publication of Arabic, Aramaic, Assyrian, Babylonian, Hittite, and Phoenecian inscriptions; publication of a Semitic comparative grammar and Assyrian and Hebrew lexicons; the study of civilizations antecedent to the Semites; the study of Israel's tribal religions; the publication of a biblical theology; the preparation of a Hebrew dictionary and introductory texts for the study of Chaldee, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Assyrian; studies in Semitic ethnology and biblical chronology; and a scholarly introduction to the Old Testament in English.[32]

HARPER'S PLANS

Harper began his work as president of the University of Chicago on July 1, 1891, fifteen months before the opening day of classes. His organizational plans were outlined in six official bulletins, which described the work of the colleges, the academies, the graduate schools, the divinity school, and the extension division. Gates, Goodspeed, and Harper were concerned about Augustus Strong's reaction to Harper's organizational plan, and the official bulletins describe a university with broad educational aims, an institution "radically different" from Strong's graduate university. In his educational plans for undergraduates, he proposed an Academic College comprising the first two years of undergraduate work, and a University College comprising the third and fourth years. In marking the sharp division between the lower and the higher work, he stressed that the curriculum of the first two years of college was simply an extension of secondary education at a somewhat higher level. In his "First Annual Report," which was never published, he remarked that the aim of the last two years of college was to introduce students to the methods of research, and he predicted that the secondary schools would eventually absorb the lower work of the Academic College. At this juncture graduate education was his primary aim.[13]

In his official bulletin on the graduate schools, Harper outlined specific requirements for an LL.D. degree for scholars who had already earned their Ph.D. degrees. The bulletin stated that candidates for this degree were expected to pursue three more years of graduate work beyond the Ph.D., and to submit a thesis "scholarly in character, exhaustive in its subject matter." Harper felt that the investigator alone was qualified to teach the methods of research, and that students would never acquire this knowledge except by example. He remarked that the investigator needed a care-free environment, time, and "liberty of thought." Periodically teachers would be excused from lectures to permit them to "give their entire time to the work of investigation." Harper created a faculty comprised of head professors, professors, non-resident professors, associate professors, assistant professors, instructors, tutors, docents, readers, lecturers, fellows, and scholars. The appointment of docents and fellows was expected to promote research. A docent was "required to spend one-half his time in original investigation under the guidance of the Professor, the other half being devoted to the giving of instruction in his particular specialty." A fellow was "required to spend five-sixths of his time in original investigation under the guidance of the Professor, one-sixth being reserved for service in connection with the University." Each department was expected to publish "either a Journal or a series of separate studies," embodying the research of its faculty. Harper stated that "Promotion of younger men in the departments will depend more largely upon the results of their work as investigators than upon the efficiency of their teaching, although the latter will by no means be overlooked."[14]

Features of Harper's educational plan were criticized by Augustus Strong, who felt that a combined undergraduate and graduate program would "turn back the wheels of time and ignore the lessons of the past." Strong perceived that this plan would

ultimately require an endowment equal to that of his "great university," and later he lamented that his plan had been "gobbled up and transferred to Chicago." Strong argued that the "mistake" made at Johns Hopkins should have signalled to Harper that the combination of elementary and advanced studies would weaken both kinds of work. He suggested that a college in Chicago, and a graduate university in New York, would be far more strategic than "a combination of Academy, College and University, such as Germany has so long outgrown."[35]

Harper was the first president of an American university to make research primary. In his "First Annual Report," he remarked that the University would promote the primacy of research and the subordination of teaching. He repeated this at the annual meeting of the American Baptist Education Society in 1892:

> To arouse in the mind of the student a desire for research, however low or high may be the grade of the student, is the greatest accomplishment of the teacher. To do this, the teacher must set the example, must himself be constantly searching for new truth. It is this which gives freshness and life to the work of the class room. Investigation, therefore, is the first thing, mere teaching is secondary.

At the same meeting, Gates announced that the University of Chicago would be primarily a research institution for college graduates, affording opportunities "not surpassed by the German universities." He contrasted Chicago with Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, which he characterized as colleges. And he recalled that the idea of founding "a costly graduate school" was first suggested by Strong.[36]

In his personal "Reminiscences," Goodspeed referred to "that curious working of cross purposes which came very near disastrous consequences in the history of the new University." He elaborated:

> When at the first meeting at Vassar Mr. Rockefeller suggested that Chicago rather than New York was the location for the University, Dr. Harper supposed he meant Dr. Strong's great graduate University, whereas Mr. Rockefeller had nothing of this sort in mind. He was thinking of University in the ordinary sense, as he knew American Universities, a high grade college out of which there should develop, in course of time, more or less rapidly, a great University with many graduate departments, including, perhaps in the end *every* department of learning.

Goodspeed argued that Harper had misinterpreted this meeting in Poughkeepsie: that Rockefeller did not wish to establish the great university in Chicago. Goodspeed

recalled that Harper was captivated by the thought of creating the great university—that it became the great prepossession of his life. Goodspeed, Gates, and Rockefeller were planning a college. Harper was planning a university. The University's opening years were profoundly affected by these "cross purposes."[37]

FACULTY RECRUITMENT

When offered the presidency of the University of Chicago, Harper requested a period of six months to weigh his options, and he accepted the office with great reluctance. His most difficult challenge was faculty recruitment. In June 1891, he announced that he was abandoning his search for professors, and negotiating with "only a few young men at small salaries," because he did not know how to begin. He began by recruiting teachers in the humanities from Denison University, Chautauqua, and Yale. He enlisted Charles Chandler from Denison and Chautauquans William D. MacClintock, Frederick Starr, and E. H. Moore. At New Haven he attracted Frank Frost Abbott, Carl Buck, George S. Goodspeed, Robert Francis Harper, and James H. Tufts. His former colleagues from Yale were trained in Germany: Tufts earned his Ph.D. at Freiburg; Abbott, Goodspeed and Buck studied in Germany and received their Ph.D.s at Yale; and "Frank" Harper, brother of William Rainey Harper, took his Ph.D. at Leipzig. Classicist William G. Hale, who assisted Harper in faculty recruitment, felt that it was essential for him to "break into either Harvard or Johns Hopkins." Harper tried to appoint Harvard classicist John Williams White and philosopher George Herbert Palmer. Palmer thought that Harvard's entire philosophy department might be transferred to Chicago, including William James and Josiah Royce, but Harper felt that this was "too big" for Chicago. From Johns Hopkins, Harper sought someone to assist him in creating a strong graduate program, and his leading candidate was historian Herbert B. Adams. William D. MacClintock, who spent the summer of 1890 with Harper at Chautauqua, spoke of Harper's "enthusiasm over the great graduate school we were to create ... a new and greater Johns Hopkins in the West." Harper also considered at least four other professors from Johns Hopkins: economist Richard T. Ely, classicist Basil L. Gildersleeve, chemist Ira Remsen, and physicist Henry A. Rowland. Nevertheless, he failed to penetrate the front ranks at Harvard and Johns Hopkins, and William I. Knapp was his only senior colleague recruited from Yale.[38]

Carl Buck, who later headed the Department of Sanskrit and Indo-European Comparative Philology at the University of Chicago, wrote to Harper from Leipzig that newspaper accounts had contrasted Harper's "broad educational aims" with the emphasis on specialization at Johns Hopkins and Clark University. Buck felt that specialization would also become an important factor at Chicago. He asserted that specialists were "attracted not so much by a man's reputation as a teacher as by his reputation as an independent scholar who has a voice in the investigation of his subject." Buck apparently knew of Harper's boundless energy, and he added: "Exactly how great an amount of teaching a man can take upon himself without preventing his making independent researches is a hard question. Only I hope that you realize that you are yourself a unique exception. You will hardly find another who is able to take his

stand as a scholar and at the same time do such an amount of teaching as you do." Buck observed that German scholars outnumbered American scholars in practically every academic discipline, primarily because the Germans had more time to invest in their investigations, and he estimated that an American college professor had about the same amount of time for research as a teacher in a German *Gymnasium*."[39]

In the summer of 1891 Harper visited several European universities. James H. Breasted recalled that Harper discussed his plans for Chicago with "leading minds of Germany," and that he tried to appoint Leipzig professor Caspar Rene Gregory to head Chicago's New Testament department, and Berlin theologian Hermann L. Strack, an Old Testament specialist who was associate editor of *Hebraica*. Breasted wrote that Harper's brief residence in Berlin reinforced "the fundamental idea which he stressed on all occasions in his teaching while at Yale"—that "the prosecution of research" was the "highest function of a university." Harper returned from Europe with no prospect from any German professor, but later he recruited Hermann E. von Holst, a specialist in American history. Harper knew that von Holst had rejected a faculty appointment at Johns Hopkins, and he predicted that the German historian would "make our graduate department of history the greatest in the country." Harper unsuccessfully targeted some of America's leading Baptist academics, including Jacob Gould Schurman and Benjamin Ide Wheeler from Cornell, biologist Clarence L. Herrick from Cincinnati, and Brown University professor E. Benjamin Andrews. However, he did appoint Baptists Harry P. Judson, Albion W. Small, Ezekiel G. Robinson, Charles A. Strong, William I. Knapp, Ernest D. Burton, and James D. Bruner.[40]

Exactly eight months before the University opened, Gates urged Rockefeller to pledge an additional $2 million. He predicted that the funds would assist Harper in attracting leading scholars to an institution that existed "largely on paper." He asserted that academics at Harvard, Yale, and Cornell—including Presidents Eliot, Dwight, and Adams—regarded Chicago as "the most powerful educational influence on the continent," but were ridiculing its modest beginnings. Gates listed twenty-three appointees and prospects for the Chicago faculty. Most of them were instructors in the humanities. Only one was a scientist. Gates wrote that Harper was eager to organize the university on a much larger scale, and he included a list of additional prospects. With these additions faculty salaries would total $164,000. Harper wrote that this amount represented "only a fraction" of the salaries at Harvard, Yale, and Columbia. Rockefeller responded with an additional pledge of $1 million, and Harper remarked that the University was now "immensely superior" to any university in the West, and "side by side with the leading institutions of the East." Goodspeed recalled that, as a result of this second gift, Harper was "inspired with a natural ambition to have the number of the departments complete, to have them well manned, and to make the University of Chicago second to no other."[41]

A few months before the University opened, Harper recruited several scientists from Clark University, including chemist John U. Nef, physicist Albert A. Michelson, and biologist Charles O. Whitman. His faculty of leading scientists and scholars also included astronomer George E. Hale, geologist Thomas C. Chamberlin, mathematician E. H. Moore, neurologist Henry H. Donaldson, physiologist Jacques Loeb,

classicists William G. Hale and Paul Shorey, historian Hermann E. von Holst, economists J. Laurence Laughlin and Thorstein Veblen, and sociologist Albion W. Small. In his negotiations with the University's head professors, Harper emphasized graduate education and faculty research. Several heads of departments developed detailed plans to promote scientific and scholarly research, and expected to work at a graduate research institution.

James Breasted spoke of Harper's "splendid dream that the University of Chicago should become the greatest research institution in the world," and members of the early faculty added perspectives to this vision. William G. Hale felt that the University should attract a corps of "teachers and investigators whose names will place it in the front rank from the beginning." George Goodspeed expected the University to become "the great center for historical study in America." John U. Nef imagined a major school of chemistry at Chicago, "comparable with the best in Germany." Charles O. Whitman envisioned "a leading center of instruction and research," which would inaugurate a new era in American biology.[42]

THE OPENING

Harper emphasized graduate education and faculty research at the first meeting of the senior faculty. He mentioned the possibility of moving first and second year college students to another campus in order to focus the University's resources on the higher work. At this stage, he accepted the colleges as a compromise, as a temporary concession to Rockefeller, Gates, Goodspeed, and the Chicago Baptists; but he envisioned a graduate research institution. E. H. Moore recalled that during the first year, Harper "made us all feel his conception of a research institution of the highest grade as the goal of our efforts."[43]

Harper's emphasis on graduate work was supported by Hermann E. von Holst at the University's first convocation in January 1893. Von Holst stated that, measured by European standards, the United States had yet to establish a true university, which he defined as "an institution, wholly detached from the school work done by colleges, and containing all the four faculties organically connected to a *universitas literarum*." From his perspective the American educational landscape consisted of colleges in which graduate education appeared as an "aftergrowth." Harper, who followed von Holst on the speaker's platform, viewed the opening convocation as an opportunity to "bind together into a unity the many complex and diverging forms of activity which constitute our university life and work." George E. Vincent, who joined the University as Assistant in Sociology, described the original faculty as an embodiment of "diverse customs, habits, and ideals"—individuals from Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Michigan, Wisconsin, Johns Hopkins, Berlin, Freiburg, Leipzig, Oxford, and Cambridge—each embracing "a peculiar conception of a university." Vincent reported conflicts among the bearers of competing ideals: "The sons of Harvard praised the ways of Cambridge; the men from New Haven had much to say of the Yale spirit; the Hopkins doctors and

the Germans were keen for research: the men of the Middle West were a bit impatient with what they deemed the conservatism of the East." Harper wrote that the greatest problem confronting the University was that of whether or not the faculty, comprised of individuals "representing many different types of educational thought, would work together harmoniously and with one common spirit." Sociologist Albion W. Small remarked that no president of a university "ever assumed a more formidable task of unifying unlike individuals in one faculty."[44]

Robert Herrick, an instructor in Chicago's English department, wondered what prototype the University would adopt: whether it would become "the American college with its group of professional schools, or the English Oxford with its care for the individual soul or the German university." Herrick hinted that the institution was conceived at the beginning of the "post-graduate" era. He contrasted the creation of specialists at Chicago, and its "serious, scholarly atmosphere," with the emphasis on character formation in the New England college. He reported that a growing graduate enrollment in the West was promoting a more general recognition of the Ph.D., and he predicted that the West would benefit from Chicago's doctors of philosophy.[45]

THE "DARK SIDE"

Herrick was optimistic about the University's future, but there were obstacles to its lofty ambitions. In his early convocation statements Harper observed that the Western colleges, which provided the lion's share of the University's graduate students, were not equipped to do the higher work. The endowment was also a "dark side of the picture." Millions of dollars had been pledged, but most of this income was restricted to instruction. Harper stated that in order to "meet the purposes of a university as distinguished from a college," the institution needed funds for books and apparatus. University libraries and laboratories, he said, had yet to receive one dollar where they should have received five. This lack of resources was perhaps a result of Goodspeed's suggestion to Rockefeller that the founder's gifts should be used for endowment, and not for buildings, books, or apparatus. Goodspeed felt that funds from other sources would provide these, but his remarks were made when the institution was conceived as a college.[46]

Rockefeller was also influenced by Augustus Strong. In 1887, Strong suggested that, like Johns Hopkins, the great Baptist university should begin without a large educational plant: "Bricks and mortar, the erection of buildings, should be the last thing. Temporary accommodations will answer, as at Johns Hopkins, until the thing gets a good start." Strong asserted that the university's permanence would depend on the "endowment of instruction." Like Johns Hopkins it "might begin with rented quarters." Rockefeller undoubtedly pondered these remarks. Aware that the first University of Chicago had failed due to an indebtedness incurred with the construction of its main building, his initial gift of $600,000 was designated as an endowment for "current expenses," and "not for land, buildings, or repairs." His second gift of $1 million provided an endowment for graduate work, theological education, and a

dormitory for the Divinity School. His third gift of $1 million provided an endowment for faculty salaries and fellowships, and $5,000 for books and apparatus. These gifts provided generous salaries for Chicago's head professors, but provisions for aiding faculty research, such as libraries and laboratories and funding for specific research projects, were not included in the early Rockefeller gifts.[47]

Goodspeed remarked in his unpublished notes that the university library opened in a state of "destitution" and "starvation." Its books provided resources for Divinity School scholars, but they did not address the research needs of other scholars and scientists, or the needs of undergraduates. Its holdings consisted of 3,000 volumes from the first University of Chicago; a collection of theological, denominational, and devotional literature from the Baptist Union Theological Seminary; a collection of classical and patristic literature; books of poetry, history, and Hebrew; and a collection of commentaries, grammars, lexicons, and Bibles which Goodspeed characterized as "unequalled in America." Harper stated that the Divinity School library was assembled from the private libraries of eminent scholars such as E. W. Hengstenberg of the University of Berlin, and that it afforded "the best possible facilities for ample research." In 1892, Assistant Librarian Zella A. Dixson reported that the original library consisted of approximately 40,000 volumes, but later records indicate that the total was perhaps half this size.[48]

The University's plans for a library began in 1890, when the Standard Club of Chicago, an organization comprised of some four hundred Jewish leaders, voted to raise $25,000 for a library building. Several of its members were alumni of the first University of Chicago. In 1891, the Finance Committee of the University's Board of Trustees reported that the library would begin with a collection of 40,000 volumes, and that a subscription of $50,000 was required to accommodate its anticipated growth. These plans were made when the University was expected to begin as a college. When this subscription was not provided, the Board of Trustees created temporary quarters for the library. Goodspeed recalled that the building was constructed "as cheaply as possible, without permanent foundations." In addition to a reading room, a cataloging room, and stacks for 175,000 volumes, the facility included a men's gymnasium, a women's gymnasium, an indoor track, and the printing office of the University Press. The building stood for eleven years, and no central library was erected during the Harper administration.[49]

In 1891, during his brief residence in Berlin, Harper learned that a 300,000-volume collection of books was available through a Berlin bookdealer, S. Calvary and Company. The collection included works in classical archaeology and literature, history, Orientalia, and modern languages; 10,000 volumes in physics, mathematics, astronomy, and natural history; and approximately 120,000 German doctoral dissertations and pamphlets. Four members of the University's Board of Trustees subscribed a total of $50,000 for the entire collection, but over a period of several years the University paid only $28,382 and received 57,630 volumes and 39,020 dissertations. Goodspeed wrote that some faculty members, who could not locate particular volumes, found it fashionable to speak of the "rubbish contained in the disappointing Berlin collection," and to describe its purchase as "sensational."[50]

In 1892, the Board of Trustees authorized an appropriation of $45,000 for books and apparatus, which did not include similar appropriations of $5,000 for the Department of Chemistry and $15,000 for the Department of Biology. A central reference library and separate departmental libraries were established. When the University opened, many of its library holdings were inaccessible, and books were borrowed from other institutions, including Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and Princeton. In 1893, Harper reported that each of the University's twenty-five departmental libraries required an immediate infusion of $10,000. Some of these libraries may have existed only on paper. Thirteen were listed in the first *Annual Register*.[51]

In 1894, Harper acknowledged a Rockefeller gift of $50,000 for books and apparatus. He noted the high cost of research and graduate education, and remarked that an equal sum would be needed each year for at least the next ten years. In 1902, he requested a library endowment of $500,000 to $1 million and asserted that a "central Library" was the University's greatest need.[52]

Throughout the Harper administration, the University's annual expenditures exceeded its income, and Rockefeller provided additional funds to cover these deficits. Goodspeed wrote that funds for the "highly developed graduate University" which Harper envisioned were "ludicrously inadequate." Its financial problems began in 1892, when $185,000 was budgeted for faculty salaries and $250,000 was actually spent. At the end of the first year the Board of Trustees discovered that the University was already $500,000 in debt. At the outset of the worsening economic conditions caused by the financial panic of 1893, Board of Trustees president Martin Ryerson recommended the elimination of all expenditures for books and apparatus, cuts in staff, and the elimination of the summer quarter. Harper threatened to resign if these measures were adopted. On August 21, 1893, the *New York Daily Tribune* reported: "While there are no debts pressing heavily on the university (to the knowledge of the journalist), the trustees find it impossible to carry out at present plans for the development of the great school as projected, and an unpleasant postponement of certain proposed improvements is unavoidable." In October the University received a Rockefeller pledge of $500,000, but its deficits amounted to $53,000 in 1894, $47,000 in 1895, and $97,000 in 1896. In October 1895, Rockefeller provided an additional $1 million for endowment, and pledged an additional $2 million to match other gifts. As a result the University received $5 million. Most of these gifts were used to cover earlier expenditures, and to provide new buildings and equipment, and the tradition of deficit spending continued.[53]

SCIENCE RESEARCH

Another "dark side of the picture" was the University's provisions for science research. Some of Harper's head professors of science, and particularly those recruited from Clark University, envisioned science laboratories at Chicago comparable to those in Germany, and most of them expected to work at a graduate research institution. However, Rockefeller's early gifts to the University did not support this work. They

provided a generous endowment for teaching, a dormitory for the Divinity School, a power plant, a dormitory for the Morgan Park Academy, a building for the University of Chicago Press, a building for the law school, a temporary building for the Junior College women, a temporary building for the School of Education, and a building for the secondary school. They did not provide the "material requisites" for science research, such as laboratories, observatories and equipment. During the Harper administration, these "material requisites" were provided almost exclusively by Chicagoans. The University received major gifts for the advancement of science from Charles T. Yerkes, Helen Culver, Sidney A. Kent, and Martin Ryerson; and a major bequest from the estate of William H. Ogden; but even these funds failed to provide the facilities envisioned by Chicago's head professors.[54]

The University of Chicago opened with a faculty of 120, two graduate schools with a total of twenty-three departments, a divinity school, two colleges, and an academy in Morgan Park. Most of these units were situated in a single "Recitation Building," but biologists, chemists, geologists, and physicists were exiled in a somewhat remote facility known as "Science Hall." The building, designed to accommodate visitors to the World's Columbian Exposition, was unsuitable for occupancy on the opening day of classes, and its provisions were spartan. Provisions for science research were also minimal. At the first convocation Harper stated that the Department of Physics needed $100,000 for apparatus. The need for books and equipment became a familiar theme of Harper's early convocation statements.[55]

In 1891 Harper met with Andrew H. Green, chief executor of the William H. Ogden estate, to discuss the endowment of a school of science. Ogden, a former mayor of Chicago, served as board chairman of the first University of Chicago and became its leading patron. Green asked Harper to outline a proposal for a school "for advanced scientific work, either in the support of well known specialists or in the encouragement of original investigation among graduate students of proved ability under proper direction." Harper replied that it had been "one of the cherished plans of those most intimately connected with the organization to devote special attention to the encouragement of scientific research." He proposed a scientific school "for graduate work and original research," with departments of physics, chemistry, biology, geology and mineralogy, and astronomy. Funds would provide "the best facilities possible for scientific investigation on the part of professors," and members of the faculty would be selected "not because of their ability to teach or lecture, but rather on the ground of their ability to investigate." Professors would be encouraged "to publish the results of their investigation," and Harper recommended a specific endowment for this purpose. The Ogden Graduate School of Science was established in 1892, but no funds were received during the first academic year, and faculty salaries were provided from the proceeds of the Rockefeller endowment. The University received almost $600,000 from the Ogden estate, but it was paid in installments over a period of twenty years.[56]

In October 1892, during the University's opening week of classes, Harper announced that Chicago businessman Charles T. Yerkes was planning to provide the

University with one of the largest and best equipped astronomical observatories in the world. University of Chicago astronomer George E. Hale expected to establish a world center for astrophysical research. He envisioned a faculty of forty researchers and assistants, comparable to the faculties at the Harvard, Greenwich, Paris, and Pulkowa Observatories; and he established *The Astrophysical Journal*, with an editorial staff comprised of leading astrophysicists from England, France, Germany, Italy, and Sweden. Due to unfavorable atmospheric conditions in Chicago, the Yerkes Observatory was built in Williams Bay, Wisconsin. Construction was delayed and the facility finally opened in 1897. Charles T. Yerkes contributed a total of $285,500 for the observatory, and a fund of $100,000 was provided to support its work. During its opening years, a major portion of faculty time was spent on designing and constructing instruments, and on developing a general plan for faculty research.[57]

In 1897, Rockefeller adviser Frederick T. Gates met with Board of Trustees secretary Thomas W. Goodspeed and University comptroller Henry A. Rust to discuss the University's continued practice of deficit spending. One of the issues was the work of the Department of Astronomy and the Yerkes Observatory. Gates remarked that when the Observatory was designed primarily as a research facility, "it was feared by Mr. Rockefeller that the funds absolutely necessary for instruction on earth would be diverted to investigation in the heavens." Gates recalled that Rockefeller refused to "run" the Observatory, and it was "universally agreed" that no assets would be spent on this work. However, Gates discovered a "considerable weakening" in this policy. The Department's budget of $100 in 1892 had risen to almost $16,000 in 1897. Only three of its eight professors were teaching, while the others were engaged in research. Gates reported that during the past year 1,650 courses were offered in English, 789 in Latin, 690 in mathematics, and only 85 in astronomy. He concluded that since there were so few students in the department, "and inasmuch as five of the paid staff are engaged in investigation exclusively, there could be retrenchment here without loss of students to the institution."[58]

Goodspeed admitted that the Department was primarily devoted to research, as opposed to teaching. But this raised the issue of whether the University was expected "to do any work in the line of original investigation, or to be devoted solely to instruction." If it was expected to promote research, then the Department needed "no justification." Turning to the budget, he observed that when Charles T. Yerkes offered to establish the Observatory, "he had no idea of the expenditure to which he was committed." Currently his contributions totalled more than $300,000, and Harper was planning to ask him to endow the Department and the Observatory. Goodspeed stated that, due to the uncertainty of Yerkes's business interests, the matter of endowment had not been broached. These exchanges suggest that Gates and Rockefeller were judging the University as a teaching institution, and the broader implication was that the Rockefeller endowment was not to be used primarily for faculty research.[59]

In 1891, biologist Charles O. Whitman told Harper that he envisioned a lake laboratory at or near Chicago, "a Biological Institute that would stand in about the same

relations to the interests and needs of the central part of the country as the Marine Station of Naples to the biological work of Europe." He asked if Harper could provide an endowment of one million dollars to establish it. He asserted that this laboratory, combined with a marine observatory, would "make Chicago the great center of science in America." He also urged Harper to establish a School of Botany with an endowment of $500,000. He presented a list of "running expenses in some Berlin Institutions for 1890," showing that the biological sciences received a much larger budget than that of the chemical institute or the physics laboratory. He assured Harper that he would set high standards for the Ph.D.—that it might become "higher than it now is in Germany."[60]

During their conversations at Clark University, Harper sensed that Whitman envisioned "too big a thing." Their negotiations were based on Harper's expectation of future Rockefeller gifts, and the only certain support for Whitman's plans was a gift of $100,000 from Chicago merchant Marshall Field for a biological laboratory. Field's gift failed to provide the facilities envisioned by Whitman, and the biologists were homeless for almost five years. In 1894, Harper admitted that the University had neglected the biological sciences, and remarked that their work could not continue in its current state.[61]

In 1895, Chicago philanthropist Helen Culver offered the University property which she valued at one million dollars to establish four biological laboratories. Proceeds from the sales of her property were much smaller than expected, and the laboratories were finally built and furnished at a cost of $340,000. Culver donated $40,000 for equipment and hoped that this would suffice "for some time to come." Her gifts were expected to provide a marine biological laboratory, and a station for genetic research and experimental studies in plant and animal domestication, animal habit, instinct, intelligence, and embryology; but these facilities were not provided during the Harper administration. In 1898, Whitman asked Harper if the University simply lacked the funds to further his aims, and he sensed that science at Chicago was "distinctly on the downgrade."[62]

Harper persisted in his efforts to persuade Helen Culver to add more to her initial gift. In 1900, he remarked that he was "more and more persuaded" that the Marine Biological Laboratory at Wood's Hole, Massachusetts "ought to become the property of the University." One year later, he reminded her that the biologists were hoping to have a pond and an aviary constructed on the campus. In 1901, Culver told Harper that she was planning to visit the Marine Zoological Station in Naples. She had also decided that any additional gifts should go toward endowment. In his final communication to Culver, Harper stated that he was hoping to increase the Helen Culver Fund "up to the Million Dollar mark before 1910 or 1911, or later."[63]

At the opening of the Kent Chemical Laboratory in 1894, Harper stated that its founder, Chicagoan Sidney A. Kent, recognized "the importance of making ample provision at the outstart for the work of investigation and research." Its designer, Johns Hopkins professor Ira Remsen, envisioned a teaching and research laboratory equal to

the finest in Germany. Its director, chemist John U. Nef, expected to develop "a large school for research at Chicago," and to work primarily "in the post graduate department." At a ceremony held in connection with the opening of the laboratory, Nef remarked that the most significant change in American higher education, since the opening of Johns Hopkins University, was the American university's adoption of the "two-fold function" of teaching and research. He remarked that a chemistry laboratory achieved its reputation primarily through the quality of its published research, and he suggested that the United States might deflect the migration of American students to Germany by appointing academics who were leaders in research.[64]

Six weeks after these ceremonies, Nef told Harper that he was alarmed over certain developments during the past few weeks. He had received a letter from the Administrative Board of the Academic Colleges, asking his department to offer a shorter course in chemistry for the non-specialist, instead of the three-quarter course currently offered. And he sensed that the University was planning to force his faculty to teach courses in the University Extension Division, regardless of his protestations. Shortly after this Nef tried to return to Clark University. In 1903, he complained that Chicago was becoming "a pedagogical institute in which research is simply tolerated but never adequately rewarded nor recognized as the highest function."[65]

In his preliminary plans for the Department of Physics, Head Professor Albert A. Michelson expected to receive $100,000 for laboratory apparatus, and annual appropriations of $5,000 "to cover running expenses." Board of Trustees president Martin Ryerson responded with gifts totalling $210,000 for a physics laboratory, and $15,000 for apparatus, books, and furniture. At the dedication of the Ryerson Physical Laboratory in 1894, Martin Ryerson remarked that, with the opening of another science facility at the University, the natural sciences were receiving the material requisities for teaching and research. He suggested that those departments which "deal with the ideal" were receiving equal attention. At the same ceremony, Harper reported that the Ryerson Laboratory was initially equipped for undergraduate work, and that its future income would provide research apparatus. In 1899, Michelson was considered for the directorship of the National Bureau of Standards. According to his daughter-biographer, Dorothy M. Livingston, "He was convinced that the needs of the department of physics were being neglected in favor of Harper's own specialties, religious and classical studies." Toward the end of the Harper administration, Michelson reported that although his laboratory equipment was "thoroughly useful and up to date," it was "still small in comparison with that of several of the more important research laboratories of the country."[66]

In 1903, the University of Chicago issued the Decennial Publications, summarizing the major achievements of its academic units during the first ten years. In the first volume of these publications, Rollin D. Salisbury, Dean of the Ogden Graduate School of Science, described the state of teaching and research in each of the University's departments of science. He reported that some departments were adequately established, but others lacked "space, apparatus, and books," and all could utilize "a larger

equipment and a larger instructional and investigative force." Some departments were occupying temporary quarters, some instructors were overburdened with teaching, and most departments needed larger laboratories, more equipment, more books and better library facilities, funds for specific research projects, and more time for investigation. Salisbury reported "epoch-making" investigations in some sectors, but he found that the University had generally failed to make adequate provisions for research, and many departments had reached the stage where a small appropriation might result in major returns. At the University's Decennial Celebration in 1901, Martin Ryerson acknowledged the University's failure to provide "the material requisites" for scientific and scholarly research, and remarked that the institution's rapid growth had made it impossible to promote this work.[67]

In 1901, *The Dial* reported that the University of Chicago had outlived its reputation as "the Baptist school on the Midway," that it was recognized for promoting the highest standard of scholarship, and that the proportion of "highly-distinguished scholars" on its faculty was probably equal to that of any American university. The article, written anonymously, explained that Chicago had "from the beginning encouraged original research," and that members of its faculty—in the departments of "physics, physiology, economics, sociology, anthropology, and classical philology"—had added considerably to knowledge. Reflecting on "the leading idea for which this University has stood," the writer suggested that "educational experimentation," rather than research, was its dominant feature.[68]

TEACHING

At the beginning of his administration, Harper emphasized the primacy of research and graduate work. He expected to move the Academic College to Morgan Park and focus the University's resources on the higher work. This plan was opposed by Rockefeller, Gates, and Goodspeed. When he realized that Rockefeller was not planning to create Strong's great graduate university in Chicago, or to support the level of research envisioned by Chicago's head professors, and when he realized that gifts and bequests from Chicago's other major donors would not adequately support this work, he promoted instead the University's vast horizontal expansion. He developed plans for a college of commerce and administration, a law school, a medical school, a school of education, and a school of technology. Teaching and the work of the colleges became increasingly prominent in his organizational plan.[69]

These developments gradually shifted the University's "center of gravity." Harper never explained why graduate education and faculty research were no longer primary, or why teaching and undergraduate work were no longer subordinate but equally important. Rather, this change was reflected chiefly in his quarterly statements, in one of his articles on higher education, and in a letter to mathematician E. H. Moore. In a quarterly statement presented in 1896, Harper referred to the University of Chicago as a teaching institution and observed that its junior instructors were neglecting their

teaching responsibilities. He remarked that although the young instructor might prefer to spend all his time on research, the University could not endow this as a full-time activity, and all instructors were expected to teach. In 1899, he rejected the notion that graduate education was primary. Writing to E. H. Moore, he remarked that college and graduate work were of equal importance. Harper also criticized the higher learning in Europe. He observed that some Americans, after taking their Ph.D.s abroad, were teaching research methods to college freshmen and sophomores, which he regarded as a total waste of time. He attacked "the German experience," and the tendency of some Americans "to Germanize everything," and asserted that studies at a German university had injured many Americans. In 1902, he reported that the work of the faculty consisted of teaching, research, and administration; and that all three functions were of equal importance. He applauded the well-rounded academic who divided his time among these three activities. Registration statistics suggest that Chicago did not emerge as the graduate institution envisioned by Harper. In 1905, for example, the University had 1,140 graduate students and 2,307 students in the various colleges; and a major portion of faculty time was spent on undergraduates.[70]

The gradual weakening of the research imperative was also reflected in Rollin D. Salisbury's report, which appeared in the Decennial Report in 1903. Salisbury suggested that teaching and research were the twin aims of the University's science departments—that their "first effort" was "to make provision for their students," and their second "to make themselves centers of investigative work." He observed that the American university had only recently recognized research as one of its central aims, and that it was expected to become a dominant feature in the future. But he argued that research "should not be allowed to overshadow or in any way dwarf the work of instruction." He criticized the tendency to belittle teaching, and asserted that "the two great phases of university work should be developed side by side."[71]

The recognition of teaching and undergraduate work, which were "secondary" when the University opened, represented a major change in the University's trajectory, and this change was also reflected in Harper's plans for horizontal expansion. In 1901, he estimated that an additional $26,635,000 was required to "round out" his plans for the University, including $9,910,000 for new buildings and land and $7,450,000 for Schools of Art, Medicine, Music, and Technology. Goodspeed reported that most of Harper's projects were launched without sufficient capitalization, due to inaccurate estimates of costs and means, and because of Harper's "well-founded" faith in the resources of the founder. In 1903, the Budget Committee of the Board of Trustees, led by Harper and Martin Ryerson, met with Gates and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to assess the University's mounting deficits. Following this conference, the founder denied any further endowment to the University, and Harper requested a six months leave of absence. He retreated to the grounds of the Yerkes Observatory and resumed his work as a scholar.[72]

In 1904, Rockefeller appointed Starr J. Murphy, a personal friend of Frederick T. Gates, to investigate the University's financial condition. For the 1904-5 academic

year, the University's deficit was expected to reach $245,761. Murphy reported a prevalent lack of budgetary restraint: the celebrated Decennial Publications, a multi-volume collection of monographs representing the University's first efforts in scientific and scholarly research, were more costly than expected; the University's eleven *journals might be published* by learned societies. He opposed the policy of promoting younger instructors and argued that their departures would promote the work of other institutions, and cited a report indicating that faculty salaries at Harvard could be trimmed by $25,000 without compromising the interests of the undergraduates. Characterizing the University's financial state as "perilous in the extreme," he recommended a reconstitution of the Board of Trustees. He informed Rockefeller that an additional endowment of $7 million was required to cover deficits, and he advised him to withhold any further funding until firmer management was in sight. He urged the University to balance its budget, reduce the size of its faculty, and abandon any plans for further expansion.[73]

Responding to Murphy's findings, Goodspeed remarked that he had always opposed rapid institutional growth, and that the recommendations should be accepted. Goodspeed sensed, however, that Murphy was somewhat biased. As an alumnus of a small college, he had developed a "deep rooted distrust" of a large university: "Its multi-form life is an offence to him. Its function of research he cannot appreciate. The fact that a man, engaged in important and far reaching investigation teaches little is evidence that he is receiving money he has not earned." Dean Harry P. Judson felt that Murphy's findings challenged the University's founding principles, which included (1) graduate instruction and research, (2) freedom to pursue original investigation, and (3) a small student-faculty ratio. He agreed that the University might save money by changing its policy with regard to teaching, but not without sacrificing some of these principles. Their loss would shift the University's "center of gravity" from graduate education and faculty research to undergraduate teaching, and the University of Chicago would "thereby sink to the level of the many institutions which, while really colleges, are adding a small portion of advanced work in the hands of overburdened teachers under the name of a graduate school."[74]

THE COLLEGES

During the course of his administration Harper became a prominent figure in American higher education and a leading spokesman for the higher learning. His discussions with university presidents Nicholas Murray Butler, Charles W. Eliot, Daniel Coit Gilman, and Benjamin Ide Wheeler resulted in the founding of the Association of American Universities, which promoted higher standards for the Ph.D. But Harper was also interested in the lower work. At the University of Chicago, he created a College of Commerce and Administration, a College of Education, a College of Religious and Social Science, and a College for Teachers. He envisioned a College of Practical Arts and a Railway College. He became a principal organizer of the North Central

Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools which promoted higher standards of college education. In the Decennial Report, and in a proposal to Andrew Carnegie, he envisioned a foundation to promote the work of the colleges, which included a national scholarship program and a plan for creating higher admission standards. He published several textbooks for college students, served as superintendent of Sunday schools at the Hyde Park Baptist Church, became an active member of the Chicago Board of Education,and lectured on college campuses throughout the United States. In his capacity as Head Professor of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literature, he taught courses for undergraduates. Titles of some of his writings on higher education reflect his interest in the college. These include: "Alleged Luxury Among College Students," "The College Officer and the College Student," "The College President," "Entrance Requirements—The Chicago System," "The Length of the College Course," "On Coeducation," "The Pay of American College Professors," "The Scientific Study of the Student," "Shall College Athletics Be Endowed?," and "The Situation of the Small College." In an article entitled "Higher Education in the West," he argued that the colleges of the West had reached a higher stage of evolution than the colleges of New England, and that the former were more practical, progressive, and serious.[75]

Shortly after the University opened, Harper created a system of university houses to promote "a college spirit." He recognized that a small college provided an environment which was lacking in a larger university. He promoted college athletics, gave "pep talks" to varsity football players, and marched in the band. In 1905, he established eight separate colleges for first and second year students, and the college meeting replaced the divisional lecture. Changes in the college curriculum during the Harper era reflected the University's vast horizontal expansion, and its founding of schools of law and education. The emphasis on research, appearing in his "First Annual Report," was supplanted by an emphasis on practical and professional training.[76]

One of Harper's lasting contributions to higher education was his plan to divide the four-year college program into two separate segments. He suggested that some American colleges, which were not equipped to do the higher work, should award an "Associate" degree at the end of the sophomore year. Physicist Robert A. Millikan recalled that Harper developed a German model for organizing American colleges into a university system. He imagined that students from other colleges would complete their first two years of undergraduate work and transfer to Chicago, where "real university work was to begin." Millikan added that Harper's plan was to elevate the standards of the American high school to those of the German *Gymnasium*. As a result of these reforms Harper was widely recognized as the founder of the junior college movement.[77]

Harper never rejected the idea of moving the first two years of college to another campus. This objective reappeared in his Decennial Report. His gradual acceptance of the standard model of a college with certain graduate departments and professional schools, and his gradual recognition of the equal importance of teaching and research, were perhaps a reflection of the sudden surge in college enrollment which occurred in

the final decades of the nineteenth century. Harper was an avid player of the numbers game. Before the University opened, he predicted that within ten years Chicago's student body would be larger than that of Harvard or Yale. He achieved this by enrolling approximately two college students for every graduate student, and this ratio was maintained throughout his administration. In the United States this ratio was much higher: in 1900, for example, there were 237,592 college students and 5,668 graduate students.[78]

Harper was also compromising with his fellow founding fathers. Gates felt that the Baptists should not have established another Johns Hopkins—that they should have focused on the founding of academies and "old-fashioned" colleges. In 1892, Goodspeed told Harper that Chicago could easily create "the greatest under-graduate school in the world." In 1897, he asserted that "If my views had prevailed, we should have had in Chicago an institution located on a single block of ground with three or four small buildings, and the character of the institution would have been simply that of a small but respectable college." Harper's acceptance of the colleges was also a matter of fiscal necessity. University of Chicago historian Barry Karl wrote that college work provided a firmer foundation than graduate work: "During the leaner years, undergraduate education with its steady assurances of tuition and conservative community support provided a more secure base for development than the ideals of graduate education, although the fact that the university had come into being on the strength of the latter revolution created a problem." Chicago's "center of gravity was also shifted by difficulty of attracting what Martin Ryerson called "the material requisites" for research.[79]

Roger Geiger wrote that a growing student body was recognized as a sign of prosperity and as a means of supporting faculty research. In his study of fifteen American universities, Geiger found that the proponents of research, who prevailed at the end of the nineteenth century, confronted the teachers of liberal culture at the turn of the twentieth century, and a tug-of-war ensued. He included Harper among the university presidents involved in this debate. Geiger concluded that in the period between 1890 and 1920, the American university rejected the German emphasis on pure research and embraced the unity of teaching and research.[80]

Harper died before his fiftieth birthday, thirteen years after the University opened. At the end of the Harper administration, English professor John M. Manly reported that his colleagues had failed to do the research that was expected because they were working primarily with undergraduates. John U. Nef asserted that Chicago's growing enrollment of undergraduates had resulted in the subordination of graduate education and faculty research. Geologist Thomas C. Chamberlin recalled that Chicago was "dominantly collegiate" under Harper. And historian Francis W. Shepardson remarked that the opening chapter of the University's history was "largely the biography of President Harper."[81]

NOTES

[1] "The Need of a Baptist University in Chicago, as Illustrated by a Study of Baptist Collegiate Education in the West," [October 15, 1888], Correspondence of John D. Rockefeller (Founder) and His Associates, hereafter "JDR." All papers cited in this article are published with permisson from the Department of Special Collections, the University of Chicago Library.

[2] Thomas W. Goodspeed to John D. Rockefeller, January 7, 1887, JDR; Idem, "Reminiscences of Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed," 260, the Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed Papers, hereafter "TWG;" Harper to Goodspeed, November 5, 1888, JDR; Goodspeed, "Reminiscences," 297; *University Record* 6 (1901): 105; Harry P. Judson, "Copy of statement to Mr. Murphy," n.d., the Presidents' Papers, 1889-1925, hereafter "PP."

[3] Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed, *A History of the University of Chicago: The First Quarter-Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1916),12-27; Charles Ten Broeck Goodspeed, *Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932), 35.

[4] Richard J. Storr, *Harper's University: The Beginnings* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966).

[5] Goodspeed, *History*, 357, x; Idem, "Reminiscences," TWG; Storr, *Harper's University*, 11, 24. The editorial comments and criticisms of Frederick T. Gates appear in TWG and JDR.

[6] Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 375-76.

[7] Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War, with Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing upon the College Movement*, Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 543 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), 89-90, 14; *Eighth Annual Report of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education in the West* (New York: John F. Trow, 1851), 39-40.

[8] Goodspeed, *History*, 19-33; Idem to Rockefeller, January 7, 1887, JDR.

[9] *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Augustus Hopkins Strong;" Strong to Rockefeller, February 15, 1887 and February 17, 1887, JDR.

[10] Goodspeed, *History*, 36, 34; Strong to Rockefeller, January 4, 1887, JDR; Idem to Rockefeller, February 22, 1887 and undated "Postscript," JDR.

[11] *Autobiography of Augustus Hopkins Strong*, ed. Crerar Douglas (Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1981), 248-49; Augustus Hopkins Strong, *The Church and the University: A Sermon Preached Before the Ohio Baptist Education Society at Its Annual Meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, October 23, 1888,—To Which Is Appended A Detailed Argument and Plan for the Establishment of a University in the City of New York, Under the Control of Baptists* (Rochester: E. R. Andrews, 1889), 43-44; Idem, "A University—What It Is, and Why We Need One," [n.d.], JDR; Idem to Rockefeller, February 22, 1887, JDR.

[12] Idem, *Detailed Argument and Plan*, 44-48.

[13] Ibid., 58-72.

[14] Ibid., 60, 67, 59, 87, 61, 43.

[15] Idem to Rockefeller, September 24, 1887, JDR; Idem to Rockefeller, October 8, 1887, JDR; Idem to Rockefeller, September 28, 1887, JDR; Rockefeller to Strong, November 30, 1887, JDR.

[16] Goodspeed, "Reminiscences," 260.

[17] James C. Welling, *The Columbian University: Notes on its Relations to the City of Washington, Considered as the Seat of a National University* (Washington: Gibson Bros., 1889), 6-11.

[18] Ibid., 16-23, 26-27; Idem, *Brief Chronicles of the Columbian College from 1821 to 1873, and of the Columbian University from 1873 to 1889* (Washington: Rufus H. Darby, 1889), 25.

[19] Harper to Goodspeed, November 5, 1888, JDR.

[20] Frederick T. Gates, *Chapters in My Life* (New York: The Free Press, Macmillan, 1977), 95, 103-4; Idem to Henry L. Morehouse, October 9, 1888, JDR.

[21] Harper to Goodspeed, November 5, 1888, JDR; Goodspeed, *History*, 47, 49; Idem to Harper, November 24, 1888, JDR; Idem to Harper, December 7, 1888, JDR; Idem to Harper, November 30, 1888, JDR; Idem to Gates, November 29, 1888, JDR.

[22] Goodspeed, *History*, 5-7; Gates, *Chapters*, 102-3.

[23] Idem to Rockefeller, January 13, 1889, JDR; Goodspeed, *History*, 62, 58, 67.

[24] Gates, "Editor's Note" attached to Harper to Gates, July 26, 1890, JDR; Strong to Harper, December 25, 1888, JDR; Harper to Goodspeed, June 4, 1890, JDR; Goodspeed to Gates, September 2, 1891, JDR; Gates, "Editor's Note" attached to Harper to Gates, August 5, 1890, JDR; Goodspeed, *History*, 131-32; Harper to Goodspeed, July 31, 1890, JDR; Idem to Rockefeller, August 9, 1890, JDR.

[25] Gates to Rockefeller, January 21, 1889, JDR; Idem, "Editor's Note" attached to Harper to Gates, August 5, 1890, JDR; Harper to Henry L. Morehouse, November 11, 1890, JDR.

[26] Goodspeed, "Reminiscences," 297.

[27] In his doctoral studies in comparative philology, Harper worked under the tutelage of William Dwight Whitney, who was widely regarded as the leading American philologist. Whitney studied Sanskrit at Yale under Edward E. Salisbury, and both had studied at the University of Berlin. In 1854, Whitney was appointed Professor of Sanskrit at Yale, a position that he held for forty years. During this period he published over 350 books and articles on Sanskrit, comparative philology, linguistics, modern languages, and lexicography. Whitney was Harper's mentor. In 1882, Harper reported that Whitney had done more to further Oriental research than any American scholar. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, s.v. "William Dwight Whitney;" *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "William Dwight Whitney;" William R. Harper, "Editorial Notes," *The Hebrew Student* 1 (April 1882): 11.

[28] Idem, *History*, 98-104.

[29] Idem, "Editorial Notes," *The Old Testament Student* 3 (1883-84): 25; Idem, "The Purpose of Hebraica," *Hebraica* 1 (1884): 1-2.

[30] Idem, "Editorial Notes," *The Hebrew Student* 2 (1882-83): 216-17; Idem, "Editorial Notes," *The Old Testament Student* 4 (1883-84): 379; Idem, "Old Testament Notes and Notices," *The Old Testament Student* 7 (1887-88): 103.

[31] Idem, "Editorial," *The Old Testament Student* 6 (1886-87): 3; Idem, "Editorials," *The Old Testament Student* 10 (1890): 197.

[32] Idem, "Editorial," *The Old and New Testament Student* 10 (1890): 195-96; Idem, "The Purpose of Hebraica," *Hebraica* 1 (1884): 1-2.

[33] Idem, "The University of Chicago, The First Annual Report, President Harper, 1892," 145-49, undated typescript.

[34] The University of Chicago, *Official Bulletin, No. 4. Graduate Schools of the University* (Chicago, Illinois, April, 1892): 2, 5, 8; Harper, "First Annual Report," 148-49.

[35] Strong to Harper, December 23, 1890, JDR; Idem, *Autobiography*, 250.

[36] Harper, "First Annual Report," 149; Idem, "Some Features of an Ideal University," *Third Annual Meeting of the American Baptist Education Society, held with the Southern Baptist Convention, Birmingham, Ala., May 8th and 9th, 1891* (Chicago: James Guilbert, [1891]), 58, 57; Idem, "Address of President W. R. Harper, Ph.D., of the University of Chicago," *Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Baptist Education Society, Held at Philadelphia, Pa., May 28, 1892* (New York: Wynkoop & Hallenbeck, [1892]), 36-37, 16-18.

[37] Goodspeed, "Reminiscences," 297.

[38] Gates, "Editor's Note" attached to Harper to Gates, August 5, 1890, JDR; Goodspeed, "Reminiscences," 297; Idem, *History*, 131-32; Harper to Gates, June 11, 1891, JDR; *Annual Register: July 1, 1892-July 1, 1893*, 10-19; Hale to Harper, March 28, 1892, the William Rainey Harper Papers, hereafter "WRH"; Idem to Harper, February 24, 1892, WRH; Palmer to Harper, April 2, 1892, WRH; "Of Age in Service," *The University of Chicago Magazine* 5 (June 1913): 277.

[39] Buck to Harper, January 19, 1890, WRH; Idem to Harper, June 9, 1892, PP.

[40] Breasted to Goodspeed, October 26, 1927, TWG; Terry to Harper, December 24, 1891, WRH; George Goodspeed to Harper, January 17, 1892, WRH; "Report on the University of Chicago, February 1st, 1892," JDR.

[41] Ibid.; Harper to Rockefeller, March 29, 1892, JDR; Goodspeed, *History*, 187.

[42] Breasted to Goodspeed, October 26, 1927, TWG; Hale to Charles L. Hutchinson, November 14 and 25, 1891, PP; Goodspeed to Harper, January 3, 1892, WRH; Nef to Harper, May 19, 1892, WRH; Whitman to Harper, December 19, 1891, WRH.

[43] Goodspeed, *History*, 247; Moore to Alonso K. Parker, October 25, 1914, TWG.

[44] Hermann E. von Holst, "The Need of Universities in the United States," *The Quarterly Calendar* 2 (May 1893): 7; "The Quarterly Statement of the President of the University. For the Quarter Ending January 1, 1893," Ibid., 9; George E. Vincent, "The University of Chicago," *The Outlook* 71 (1902): 842; William R. Harper, "President's Letter of Transmission," *President's Report, July, 1897-July, 1898*, viii; Albion W. Small, "William Rainey Harper, The Man," *University Record* 10 (1906): 66.

[45] Robert Herrick, "The University of Chicago," *Scribner's Magazine* 18 (1895): 397-417.

[46] "The Statement by the President of the University for the Quarter Ending July 1, 1893," *The Quarterly Calendar* 2 (August 1893): 9; "The Quarterly Statement of the President of the University. For the Quarter Ending January 1, 1893," *The Quarterly Calendar* 2 (May 1893): 12; Goodspeed to Rockefeller, November 22, 1888, JDR.

[47] Letter from Strong to Rockefeller, titled "A Postscript To My Letter of Three or Four Weeks Ago—Demanding No Answer," n.d., JDR; Idem, *Detailed Argument and Plan*, 62; Goodspeed, *History*, 15-18, 66, 163, 182.

[48] TWG, Box 4, folder 4; Zella A. Dixson, "The Library of the Chicago University," *The Library Journal* 17 (1892): 50-51; H. Richard Archer, "Some Aspects of the Acquisition Program at the University of Chicago Library, 1892-1928" (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1954), 15, 19.

[49] Goodspeed, *History*, 87, 227-28; Minutes of the Committee on Buildings and Grounds; Harper, "First Annual Report," 17.

[50] *The Berlin Collection* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Library, 1979), 5, 21-22; TWG, Box 4, folder 4.

[51] Board of Trustees Minutes, 1:64, 68; Zella Allen Dixson, "The University Library," *The President's Report, July, 1892-July, 1902* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1903), 223; "The Quarterly Statement of the President of the University. For the Quarter Ending January 1, 1893," *The Quarterly Calendar* 2 (May 1893): 12; The University of Chicago, *Annual Register, July 1, 1892—July 1, 1893* (Chicago: The University Press of Chicago, 1893), 201-2.

[52] *The Quarterly Calendar* 3 (May 1894): 12; William R. Harper, "The President's Report," *The President's Report, 1892-1902*, cxxvi, cxxv.

[53] Goodspeed, "Reminiscences," 299; Idem, *History*, 188; Storr, *Harper's University*, 244-57; Goodspeed, *History*, 276-83.

[54] Ibid., 497-98.

[55] Ibid., 247, 216; Minutes of the Committee on Buildings and Grounds, 70; *The Quarterly Calendar* 2 (May 1893): 12.

[56] Harper, "First Annual Report," 1; *One in Spirit* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Library, 1973), 53; Goodspeed to Harper, January 26, 1891, JDR; Green to Harper, January 12, 1891, JDR; Harper to Green, January 19, 1891, JDR; Goodspeed, *History*, 173-76.

[57] Ibid., 307; Hale to Harper, September 23, 1892, PP; Idem to Harper, December 5, 1895, PP; Idem, "The Astrophysical Journal," *The Astrophysical Journal* 1 (1895): 80-84; Goodspeed, *History*, 307-13; Hale, "The Report of the Director of the Yerkes Observatory to the Visiting Committee," *University Record* 6 (1901): 142.

[58] Goodspeed, *History*, 283-84; "Report of Conference between Messrs. F. T. Gates, T. W. Goodspeed, and H. A. Rust, with reference to The University of Chicago," dated February 10, 1897, PP.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Whitman to Harper, June 6, 1891, WRH; Idem to Harper, n.d., PP; Idem to Harper, December 19, 1891, WRH.

[61] Harper to Charles L. Hutchinson, January 30, 1892, PP; Board of Trustees Minutes, 1:64, 68; "The Statement of the President of the University for the Quarter Ending September 30, 1894," *The Quarterly Calendar* 3 (November 1894): 16.

[62] Goodspeed, *History*, 301-3; Culver to Harper, March 24, 1897, PP; Idem to Harper, March 29, 1897, PP; Idem to Harper, April 21, 1897, PP; "Exercises in Connection with the Laying

of the Corner Stones of the Hull Biological Laboratories," *University Record* 1 (1896): 286-90; Whitman to Harper, n.d., PP; Idem to Harper, December 1, 1898, PP.

[63] Harper to Culver, September 15, 1900, PP; Idem to Culver, October 3, 1901, PP; Culver to Harper, January 15, 1901, PP; Idem to Harper, December 16, 1901, PP; Harper to Culver, August 26, 1905, PP.

[64] "Important University Events. Exercises in Connection with the Opening of Kent Chemical Laboratory," *The Quarterly Calendar* 2 (February 1894): 20, 21; Ira Remsen, "The Convocation Address: The Chemical Laboratory," Ibid., 7-9; Nef to Harper, April 20, 1892 and April 22, 1892, WRH; Idem, "Important Factors in the Development of a Research Laboratory," *The Quarterly Calendar* 2 (February 1894): 22-25;

[65] Nef to Harper, February 16, 1894, in the Papers of John Ulric Nef, 1862-1915, hereafter "JUN"; Robert W. Herrick to Nef, February 13, 1894, JUN; Nef to G. Stanley Hall, March 26, 1894, JUN; Idem to George E. Hale, August 9, 1903, JUN.

[66] Michelson to Harper, July 3, 1892, PP; handwritten memorandum signed by Michelson, n.d., WRH; Ryerson to the Board of Trustees, November 7, 1892, PP; Board of Trustees Minutes, 1:80, 130-31, 286; "The Formal Gift of Ryerson Physical Laboratory," *The Quarterly Calendar* 3 (August 1894): 31-34; Dorothy Michelson Livingston, *The Master of Light: A Biography of Albert A. Michelson* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 208-10; A. A. Michelson, "The Ryerson Physical Laboratory," *The President's Report, 1902-4*, 215.

[67] Rollin D. Salisbury, "The Ogden Graduate School of Science," *The President's Report, 1892-1902*, 53-58; *University Record* 6 (1901): 105.

[68] "The University of Chicago," *The Dial* 30 (1901): 390.

[69] Goodspeed, "Reminiscences," 297.

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Patterns of Access to the Modern European Universities: The Social Origins of Students

FRITZ RINGER

During the early 1970s, when I began to study the comparative social history of European secondary and higher education, the expansion of enrollments since the early nineteenth century was widely considered a form of 'democratization'. Indeed, I believed something like that myself, and not without apparently plausible reasons. I knew that increased enrollments had repeatedly provoked conservative fears of 'levelling', and while I did not sympathize with these fears, I accepted some of the factual premises upon which they were based. It seemed likely that increases in university access rates from less than 5 percent to more than 25 percent of the age group necessarily brought new social groups into higher education—and thus also into the advantageous occupations that required university-level qualifications.

The more systematically I worked on the subject, however, the more I came to question this received view, which I had begun by accepting. The more persistently I questioned the received view, on the other hand, the more I drew criticism from colleagues who suspected me of overstating the 'pessimistic' implications of the data I collected and compared. Among the scholarly controversies that ensued, one or two are still alive today. Yet I am now convinced that no one any longer believes that educational expansion really brought about a significant degree of 'democratization'; no one any longer assumes what I had begun by assuming.

The received view, it now seems to me, rested on certain vague but crucial simplifications, which must be replaced by more precise definitions and concepts. While other scholars successfully introduced alternate terminologies, I chose to describe educational institutions and systems as more or less 'inclusive', 'progressive', and 'segmented'.[1] An 'inclusive' system is characterized by high enrollments per age group. A 'progressive' system is one that recruits a relatively high percentage of its students from lower and lower middle-class backgrounds. (I chose the word 'progressive' by analogy with 'progressive' tax systems, not to evoke the idea of 'progress'.) A 'segmented' system, finally, encompasses institutionally distinctive 'streams' or 'tracks' *at the same grade level* that differ *both* in their formal or informal curricula *and* in the social origins of their students. The divide between classical and non-classical secondary schools or programs in several late nineteenth-century European countries is an example of segmentation, and so is the difference between college-preparatory and vocational streams in American high schools.

With these definitions in mind, one can begin to see that increased inclusiveness at the secondary or university level *need not* lead to increased progressiveness, not to

mention 'democratization' in the broader sense of increased social mobility, or of more equal access to desirable occupations. Let us suppose, for example, that increased secondary enrollments per age group are achieved at the cost of segmentation, in that a system encompassing a small secondary sector and a large pool of primary schooling is replaced by a more stratified pattern as follows. The 'expansion' of secondary schooling from Stage A to Stage B may here be accompanied by a recruitment into the elite secondary schools at Stage B that is *no more* progressive, and possibly even *less* progressive, than the recruitment into the less inclusive Stage A secondary system as a whole.

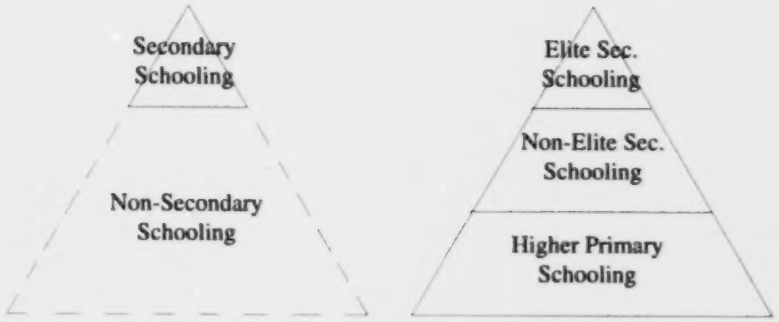

FIGURE A

Alternately, imagine an increase in the inclusiveness of higher education, and take the occupational system into account as well. At Stage A, graduates of a few small universities here reach elite occupations, while those without university education take the remaining positions, including some that will later be accessible only on the basis of university credentials. At Stage B, the university system has become more inclusive; but a *part* of the consequence is that the value of the university degrees in the occupational market has decreased. The presence of non-university institutions of higher education at Stage B may aggravate this 'inflationary' effect. More important, the expansion of higher education has been achieved at the cost of a degree of segmentation, and graduates of the less favored university-level institutions typically reach professions that *did not require* university credentials at Stage A. Thus a certain amount of social mobility that flowed *around* the universities at Stage A now flows *through* the expanded system of higher education. (This shift may be termed the

'educationalization of the occupational hierarchy', although some would prefer to see it as a functional adjustment of the educational system to the changing 'needs' of the economy.) In any case, it has little to do with 'democratization'. Indeed, even if recruitment into the enlarged 'university' sector at Stage B is *moderately* more progressive than it was at Stage A, the net impact upon access to the most favored occupations may be virtually insignificant!

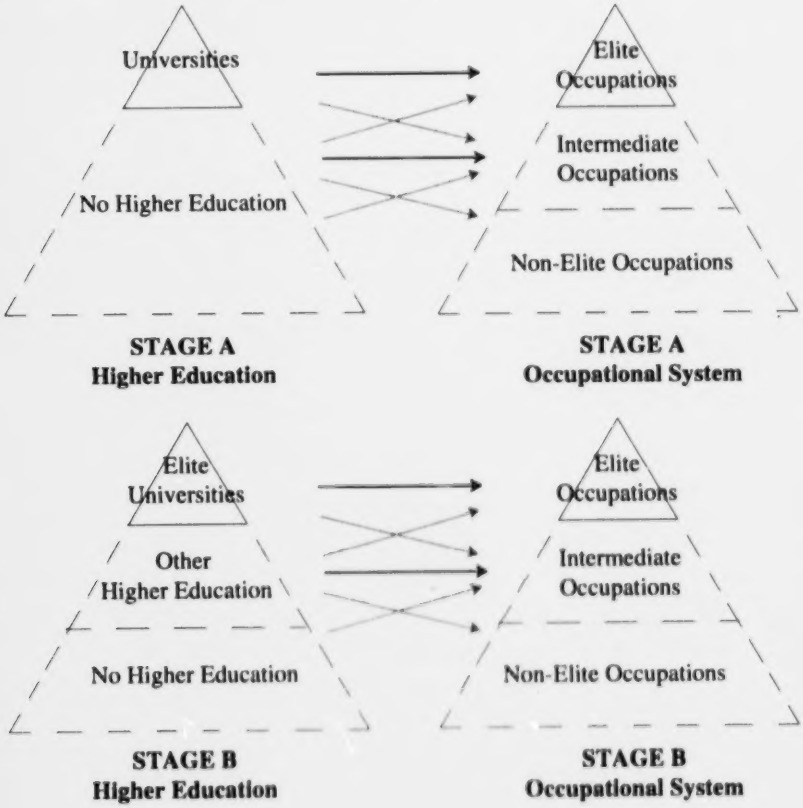

FIGURE B

Confronted with these speculations, responsible scholars will call for *evidence*, and of course they are right to do so. Unfortunately, what pertinent evidence can be found is hard to interpret. Historians have given much attention to the social origins of students, or more exactly, to the socio-occupational status of students' fathers. In my terminology, to recapitulate, a system of higher education may be considered *progressive* if it recruits a high proportion of its students from lower and lower middle-class backgrounds. Measures of progressiveness are relative *in principle*. For example, if 10 percent of students in a university system and 20 percent of the total population were from the working class, then the relative access chance or access ratio for working-class students in the system would be 1:2, which would be very progressive indeed. The same ratio could be calculated if 5 percent of working-class youths and 10 percent of a total age cohort were known to have reached universities. Exact calculations of progressiveness would not resolve all our questions about occupational and social mobility through education; but they would certainly move us a considerable distance in the right direction.

But there is the further difficulty that we rarely have 'matching' data on the social origins of students and on those of the whole age group. The occupational classifications we encounter in censuses are even vaguer than those we find in reports on the occupations of students' fathers. Worse, the terms used to describe the fathers' professions hardly ever remain stable over time, from university to university, or from country to country. Substantive changes are involved along with terminological ones. 'White-collar employees', for example, did not make up a significant social group, at least in the private sector, until late in the nineteenth century. *In practice*, therefore, historians can only deal with known percentages of fathers' occupations for selected student groups, and of course they can disagree about the significance of the percentages—and of the occupational categories involved. That is what I propose to do in the pages that follow.

Thus Table 1 is designed to provide a simplified sketch of social recruitment into the German universities from about 1820 to 1930. From 1886 on, unusually precise data are available for Prussia and, from 1928 to 1941, for all of Germany as well. For the earlier period, I have added composite figures calculated from published studies of selected universities around 1821-37 and 1874-76. If one ignores the column on 'Five Universities 1777-1867' for the moment, one can arrive at a rough sketch of long-term changes that could be further supported from more detailed breakdowns and annotations.[2] It is clear, above all, that the German universities of the early nineteenth century were dominated neither by the landed nobility nor by an entrepreneurial bourgeoisie, but by an educated upper middle class that encompassed all the university-educated or 'academic' professions. Particularly important were the higher officials, including the university professors, and the 'liberal professions', especially doctors and lawyers; but clergymen and secondary teachers made up significant contingents as well. This educated 'mandarin' elite accounted for about 45 percent of German university students during the early decades of the century; it reached a representation in excess of 50 percent for some institutions and periods. Its decline from this dominant position

Table 1

Social Origins of German University Students, 1820-1930

(Percentages of Fathers in Various Occupational Groups)

Fathers' Occupational Group	Halle & Wurttemberg 1827-37	Five Universities 1777-1867	Halle, Wurttemberg, Leipzig 1874-76	Prussian Universities 1887-91	Prussian Universities 1911-12	German Universities 1931
Landowners (Nobility)	3	12	4	2	5	1
Learned Professions	44	44	38	25	21	25
Economic Upper Middle	3	15	9	16	12	11
Smaller Independents	23	14	19	19	23	18
Lesser Employees			3	3	6	
Lower Officials	20	8	16	20	27	32
Farmers	7		10	12	6	4
Lower Working	1	1	5	1	2	3

began before the 1870s, but it became more rapid thereafter until the First World War. Despite a modest recovery during the Weimar period, the group fell to roughly half of its original size, or to some 20-25 percent of university enrollments. Much of the space thus 'left open' was taken up by an almost equally important social group, namely the lower officials, including many primary teachers. In any cross-national comparison, this group stands out as a further hallmark of the modern German university system. It was quantitatively significant even during the early nineteenth century, at some 15-20 percent of enrollments, and it reached a representation in excess of 30 percent by about 1930. That much is safely established.

Unfortunately, the situation is less clear with respect to the industrial and commercial occupations, or the economic upper and lower middle classes. The sources do not, before 1911, consistently distinguish the economic 'bourgeoisie' of large-scale owners, managers and executive-level employees from the old 'burgher stratum' (*Mittelstand*) of small-scale independent producers and tradesmen on the one hand, or from the 'new lower middle class' (*neuer Mittelstand*) of lower-level employees and clerks. The percentages listed in the table for the 'economic upper middle class' in 1821-37, 1874-76 and 1887-91 encompass 'industrialists', along with a few large-scale businessmen and insurance agents. The 'smaller independents' listed for these periods consist primarily of merchants, shopkeepers and innkeepers. The lesser employees apparently did not become quantitatively significant until late

in the century; the farmers made up a modest and declining contingent, and the working class remained virtually excluded from the universities, except when grouped with artisans in 1874-76.

Analyzing a sample of fathers' occupations listed in published matricular records of five selected German universities between 1777 and 1876, Konrad Jarausch has tried to separate the 'propertied' upper middle class of small independents and the 'new' lower middle class of petty employees and clerks. Unfortunately, he has included the lower officials and teachers in the category of the 'new' *Mittelstand*, although this key group was of course old enough to be present at the birth of the modern German university. No survey I know has registered it at less than 15 percent of enrollments even during the early nineteenth century, and I therefore cannot explain the 8 percent Jarausch has calculated for the entire non-independent lower middle class during the interval between 1777 and 1867. He also arrives at an almost even division of the commercial and industrial occupations between the economic upper middle class and the 'old' lower middle class of small independents; but this surprising result may be due to the fact that some of his samples are for single universities and based on low absolute numbers.[3] What can be safely concluded, it seems to me, is only that the several segments of the economic upper and lower middle classes *jointly* increased their representation at the German universities from some 25-30 percent during the early nineteenth century to some 35-40 percent during the period between 1890 and 1930. But what does this mean for the issue of progressiveness?

My own sense is that the economic middle classes of early nineteenth-century Germany encompassed few large-scale entrepreneurs or capitalists, or that they consisted predominantly of early industrial 'burghers', of small merchants, small producers and independent artisans. If this is even partly correct, then the increased representation of the economic occupations at the German universities after 1870 was not necessarily progressive. While workers and petty employees made up significantly increased portions of the work force, their offspring rarely reached the universities. The very small entrepreneurial upper middle class, by contrast, achieved a representation in excess of 10 percent by the early twentieth century, adding a 'plutocratic' element to the reduced presence of the old educated elite. This is not to deny that German university recruitment became somewhat more progressive during the century after 1820, and especially between 1870 and 1930. It is to say only that the progressive shift was more modest than has been widely realized, and perhaps also that the German universities of the early nineteenth century were already more progressive than is commonly thought. Jarausch has essentially joined me in this overall conclusion.[4]

In any case, there is nothing in Jarausch's findings to suggest a more dramatic shift in a progressive direction at the German universities between 1800 and 1914. I have tried to show this in Table 2, although Jarausch's limited documentation made it rather difficult. Broken down into distributions for selected sample years, Jarausch's results for five universities indicate no steady decrease in the representation of the educated upper middle class between 1797 and 1857, and they do document a steady increase

Table 2

Social Origins of Students at Selected German Universities, 1800-1910

(Estimated Percentages of Fathers in Various Occupational Groups)

Fathers' Occupations	1797	1817	1837	1857	1870s	1890s	1910s
Nobility	18	13	10	10			
Learned Professions	40	42	47	43	34	32	30
Economic Upper Middle	7	12	15	21	31	35	36
Lower Middle	21	23	21	18	32	32	35
Lower Working	1	1	1	1			
Unknown	13	9	6	7			

in the percentages for the economic upper middle class. Thus, even if the declining share of the nobility is taken into account as well, the joint indicators for the upper and upper middle classes actually rose gradually from 65 in 1797 to 74 in 1857. To be sure, the very summary percentages for the 1870s, 1890s and 1910s appear inconsistent with the pattern in evidence through 1857; but they too suggest a stable representation of the lower middle classes, rather than an increasing one. The surprise, under the circumstances, is that Jarausch did not conclude in favor of essentially unchanging levels of progressiveness in German university education between 1800 and 1914.

Table 3 deals with the social composition of the major faculties and fields at German universities between 1874 and 1931 by focusing upon the two most consistently significant and well-delimited occupational groups among students' fathers. To read the table, one must compare the percentages for specific faculties or fields with those for all fields. Thus one can see fairly quickly that the faculty of Protestant theology and especially the humanities wing of the faculty of arts and sciences ('philosophy'), which trained secondary teachers, served as channels of upward social mobility through education for the sons of lower officials and primary teachers. Protestant theology also recruited disproportionately from the learned professions; presumably it attracted many pastors' sons. In Catholic theology, as the note to the table indicates, the offspring of farmers were unusually numerous. In the sciences division of 'philosophy', the learned professions were consistently underrepresented; but the lower officials and teachers were not markedly overrepresented until after 1900, when the sciences came to occupy a secure place in the secondary curriculum. By 1931, in any case, the recruitment of science students was even more progressive than that of the humanists. As we have already noted, the quantitative significance of civil servants

Table 3

Social Origins of German University Students by Field of Study, 1874-1931

(Percentages of Fathers in Indicative Groups)

Faculties or Fields of Study	Leipzig, 1874-78 Learned Professions/ Lower Officials'	Prussia, 1900 Learned Professions/ Lower Officials	Germany, 1931 Learned Professions/ Lower Officials
Law	39/9	27/17	26/27
Medicine	40/10	25/20	31/25
Protestant Theology	50/19	38/33	
Catholic Theology		4/22	
Humanities	30/20	20/28	19/37
Sciences	27/13	19/22	16/38
Technology			17/28
All fields	37/13	23/21	22/32

and teachers among students' fathers was a salient characteristic of the German universities during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Table 3 shows that this trait was associated particularly with the faculties of `philosophy' and theology, and with the training of future secondary teachers and clerics.

The professional faculties, by contrast, attracted disproportionate shares of students from upper middle-class backgrounds. Around 1900, law clearly outstripped medicine in this respect; but the roles had been reversed by 1931. The professions, including the legally trained portion of the high civil service, tended to discourage aspirants from modest circumstances. At the technical institutes in 1931, finally, the economic upper and lower middle classes must have been more strongly represented than either of the groups treated in the table. Indeed, as the note indicates, the entrepreneurial elite was particularly interested in this sector of German higher education. One could speak of a mild form of segmentation.

The French distributions charted in Table 4 provide a sharp contrast with German patterns. To be sure, the available data do not pertain to the French system of higher education as a whole, but only to selected portions of it. To focus upon three provincial law faculties before the French Revolution is to neglect their academically and socially more distinguished rival in Paris. The columns for the 1860s really reflect the educational plans of secondary graduates, not all of whom ultimately realized their academic ambitions. Moreover, these data pertain to the two main professional faculties during an era when the faculties of letters and of sciences were of only marginal importance. The particularly prestigious faculties of law at that time attracted significant numbers of students who did not intend to enter the legal professions. The figures on the two most famous *grandes écoles*, by contrast, stem from a period when the expansion and stepwise accreditation of non-classical secondary schooling pro-

Table 4

Social Origins of French University Level Students, 1773-1914

(Percentages of Fathers in Various Occupational Groups)

Fathers' Occupational Groups	4 Provincial Law Faculties 1773-89	Prospect Students 1864		Ecole Polytechnic 1880-1914	Ecole Normale 1880-1909
		Law	Medicine		
Landed Nobility	3-4				
Learned Professions and Officers	65-77	37	37	20	38
Economic Upper					
Middle	2-9	39	33	38	20
Lower Middle	10-25		30	36	
Lower/Working	1-5	24	30	11	6

duced a progressive shift in the social origins of students even at these elite institutions. This is documented more fully by the authors whose findings are summarized in these columns. There is no information, unfortunately, for the reformed faculties of letters and of sciences, which were undoubtedly more progressive in their recruitment than any of the major *grandes écoles*. Thus the most obvious case of segmentation in French higher education, the divide between the *grandes écoles* and the university faculties, particularly those of letters and of sciences, is not visible in Table 4.

Even so, the table leaves no doubt at all that the French professional faculties from the late eighteenth century to around 1880, and the Ecole Polytechnique even thereafter, were overwhelmingly dominated by the upper middle class. Thoroughly disproportionate overrepresentations were achieved not only by the liberal and learned professions, as in Germany, but also by the rich and powerful office-holders of the old regime, by the *propriétaires*, the only occasionally aristocratic owners of land and other forms of capital during the nineteenth century, and by the entrepreneurial elite that did not enter German higher education in force until the late nineteenth century. If one uses the term *bourgeoisie* as it has come to be used in France, to designate all sectors of a propertied *and* educated upper middle class, then some 75-80 percent of French law students through 1864, along with nearly 60 percent of students at the Ecole Polytechnique between 1880 and 1914, came from *bourgeois* families. The corresponding figure for the Prussian universities in 1911-12 (from Table 1) was less than 40 percent for landowners, the learned professions, and the economic upper middle class of large commercial and industrial owners, managers and executive employees.[5]

If we had data on the French faculties of letters and of sciences after 1880, they would certainly resemble their German equivalents more closely. More generally, the reforms in the French universities during the late nineteenth century must have brought

Table 5

Social Origins of English University Students, 1800-1900

(Percentages of Fathers in Various Occupational Groups)

	Cambridge University		Oxford University			
Fathers' Occupations	**1800-49**	**1850-99**	**1818**	**1848**	**1878**	**1897**
Land	31	19	23	23	18	12
Clergy	32	31	25	23	25	16
Professions	21	26	15	27	29	37
Business	6	15	12	9	18	27
Other, Unknown	10	9	25	18	10	8

the French and German universities closer together in their social makeup. As it is, one must look at the Ecole Normale Supérieure to find anything like German patterns of recruitment in nineteenth-century French higher education. For this distinctive institution drew principally upon the educated, rather than the propertied, portions of the French middle-class spectrum. As of 1880-1909, among fathers of students at this meritocratic training ground for the elite of secondary and university teachers, well over a third were in lower middle-class occupations, including 24 percent (as against 32 percent in Prussia as of 1911-12) who were middle and lower officials and teachers. If one adds the figure for university faculty and secondary teachers to that for primarily teachers, one arrives at a remarkable 28 percent for fathers in education. Within the French system, at any rate, the Ecole Normale stood out as a relatively progressive and emphatically academic institution.

For nineteenth-century English higher education, we only have the figures on the two ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in Table 5. The social categories are broad; but they are used consistently enough to permit a look at change over time. A greater proportion of unknowns for Oxford probably accounts for some of the differences between the two distributions, especially before 1850. In any case, it seems clear that the landed gentry and the Anglican clergy jointly accounted for some 50-60 percent of enrollments at the two English universities during the early nineteenth century. The lay professions at that time reached a representation of around 20-25 percent, with the middle-class business occupations ranking in fourth place, and the artisanal classes scarcely present at all. Thus the secular middle classes were undoubtedly much weaker in the English than in the French and German universities at that time. Change away from this pattern was slow and possibly unsteady until the mid-century; but then the professions and, to a lesser extent, the business groups expanded their portion of enrollments to some 50-60 percent by the end of the century. We cannot be sure, but even by that time, neither the lower middle classes in general nor the lower civil servants and teachers in particular appear to have been as well represented at

Table 6

Social Origins of University of Glasgow Students, 1870-1910

(Percentages of Fathers in Various Occupational Groups)

Fathers's Occupations	1870	1890	1910
Educated Professions	23	19	26
Economic Upper Middle Class	23	20	25
Agricultural Group	11	8	3
Lower Middle Class	13	15	20
Working-Class Group	14	24	24
Unknown	16	15	3

Oxford and Cambridge as at the Continental universities, and especially in Germany. Thus this sector of English higher education was almost certainly the least progressive in Europe until the present century.

All the more striking are the distributions for the University of Glasgow in Table 6. Well before 1900, the educated professions and the economic upper middle class here accounted for some 20-25 percent of students' fathers, which is particularly remarkable in view of the fact that the educated professions included very small contingents of 'proprietors, gentlemen', along with slightly more substantial proportions (5-7 percent) of ministers. While the representation of farmers declined from 11 percent to 3 percent between 1870 and 1910, the lower middle class of small businessmen, shopkeepers, clerks and minor officials advanced from 13 to 20 percent of fathers. Above all, a working-class cluster of artisans, skilled workers, laborers and servants accounted for almost a quarter of students at Glasgow during the decades around the turn of the century. One has to conclude that university education was decidedly more progressive in Scotland than anywhere else in Europe at that time.

In Table 7, finally, we get a glimpse of the Swedish and Danish universities on the eve of the First World War. The Swedish system by that time rather closely approximated German levels of progressiveness, with slightly higher representations for the learned professions, but also for farmers and workers. Students at the University of Copenhagen, however, came a good deal more often than their German colleagues from upper middle-class backgrounds. All sectors of the lower middle class were notably more poorly represented at Copenhagen than at German institutions, although a strong contingent of farmers at Copenhagen partly compensated for this shortfall. In any case, the divergences of social recruitment were no longer as great by around 1911 as the differences between the English, French and German universities had been during the early nineteenth century.

We spoke earlier of a convergence between the educational and the occupational systems in Germany from the late nineteenth century on; but perhaps we should have

Table 7

Social Origins of University of German, Danish and Swedish University Students about 1910

(Percentages of Fathers in Various Occupational Groups)

Fathers's Occupations	Prussia 1870	Sweden 1890	Denmark 1910
Landowners	5	2	2
Learned Professions	21	24	33
Smaller Independents	23	19	12
Lesser Employees	3		7
Lower Officials	27	29	13
Farmers	6	9	12
Lower/Working	2	5	4
Other, Unknown		2	3

referred to a double convergence. For it seems increasingly clear that during the late industrial phase in their history, the European university systems shed some of the special characteristics that had distinguished them from each other a century earlier. Levels of progressiveness probably increased everywhere, perhaps less rapidly in Germany than in systems that began less auspiciously. It is hard to say whether higher levels of progressiveness also engendered increased social mobility through education; but on the whole I doubt it. For as higher education became even a little more generally available, it lost some of the 'market' advantages of rarity. As the entrepreneurial middle classes began to patronize higher education, moreover, upward mobility through education to some extent replaced earlier patterns of social ascent *without or around* the universities. But we are far from understanding all the complexities involved. My aim here has only been to summarize the presently available data, to suggest a few cross-national comparisons, and to question the received view of the relationship between educational expansion and socio-occupational 'democratization'.

NOTE TO TABLE 1

Data other than that for 'Five Universities 1777-1867' is from Ringer, *Education and Society*, app. tables VI-VIII, though the last three columns could now be drawn from Hartmut Titze, ed., *Das Hochschulstudium in Preussen und Deutschland 1820-1944. [Datenhandbuch zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, vol. I: *Hochschulen*, part 1 (Göttingen, 1987). The early columns are recalculated from absolute numbers for (a) the University of Halle in 1821 and in 1834, plus students from the state of Württemberg at German universities in 1837, and (b) the University of Halle in 1874, students from Württemberg at German universities in 1875, and the University of Leipzig in 1876. The 'learned professions' encompass high officials (defined narrowly as those with university education for 1887-91 and 1911-12), including university professors and

secondary teachers (or university-educated teachers), plus clergymen, plus lawyers, physicians and other members of the 'liberal' or 'academic' (university-educated) professions, plus a few military officers. The 'economic upper middle class' encompasses 'industrialists' (Halle, Leipzig), with the addition of other 'large-scale businessmen' (Württemberg) or of 'independents in insurance' (Prussia 1887-91); they are more consistently defined as owners, managers and executive-level employees of large business firms in the last two columns of the table. Before that point, the 'smaller independents' are largely merchants and shopkeepers of all levels. 'Lower officials' includes substantial contingents of lower-level teachers (or teachers without university education). The 'lower/working class' exceptionally includes a group of artisans for 1874-76. On the 5 universities, see the note to Table 2.

NOTE TO TABLE 2

From Konrad Jarausch, 'Die neuhumanistische Universität und die bürgerliche Gesellschaft 1800-1870' in *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte der deutschen Einheitsbewegung*, vol. 11 (1981), pp. 11-58, esp. pp. 14-15, 32, 39, and Konrad Jarausch, *Students, Society, and Politics in Imperial Germany* (Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 122-128. In 'Neuhumanistische Universität', Jarausch drew on published matriculation records for the Universities of Tübingen (1776-1817), Göttingen (1779-1837), Erlangen (1798-1843), Kiel (1827-1864), and Heidelberg (1807-1870). He tabulated fathers' professions for a sample of about 7500 entries for these universities during sample years 1776, 1787, 1797, and so on at ten-year intervals through 1867. His numerical results for this whole sample, in the summary occupational categories he used, are reproduced under 'Five Universities 1777-1867' in Table 1, except for 8% Unknowns. The first percentage in that column is for the nobility (use of *von*); 'economic upper middle class' encompasses landowners as well as businessmen. In addition, Jarausch offered a *graph* of changing percentages for five of his occupational groups (plus Unknowns) over his 10 sample years between 1776 and 1867; but I found it difficult to reproduce his graph in *Students, Society and Politics* from the numerical data in Tables 7 and 8 of 'Die neuhumanistische Universität'. I have estimated numerical percentages (from the scale of his graph) for some of his sample years from 1797 to 1857 in the early columns of Table 2; the data for previous and subsequent sample years (1776, 1787, 1867) seem to me unreliable; they pertain in each case to only one university, and are based, before 1797, on very low absolute totals. In *Students, Society*, Jarausch presented a similar sample in a graph for the University of Bonn between 1840 and 1910; but the percentages he charted apparently overlap. Finally, Jarausch combined his Bonn data with published surveys for the Universities of Berlin and of Leipzig, and for students from Württemberg, from the 1860s to the 1910s, drawing upon the *very* summary occupational categories used by the author of the Berlin survey. The last three columns of Table 2 reproduce this portion

of Jarausch's numerical results for three selected decades; 'economic upper middle class' here encompasses industrialists and merchants of all sizes, while the 'lower middle class' covers lower officials (including teachers), artisans and farmers.

NOTE TO TABLE 3

From Ringer, *Education and Society*, pp. 88, 101. 'Humanities' and 'Sciences' jointly cover students in the faculties of arts and sciences. 'Lower Officials' includes lower teachers, as in Table 1. Some 26% of students in Catholic Theology at Prussian universities in 1900 had fathers who were farmers, whereas the corresponding figure for all fields was 11%. Some 18% of students at the German technical institutes ('Technology') in 1931 had fathers who were owners, managers or executive-level employees of large firms, whereas the corresponding figure for all fields was 11%. Fields other than 'Technology' in 1931 cover only students at universities (not technical institutes).

NOTE TO TABLE 4

The data on the provincial law faculties of Douai 1773-75, Nancy 1782-89 and Dijon 1785-89 are from Roger Chartier, Dominique Julia and Marie-Madeleine Compère, *L'Education en France du XVIe au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1976), pp. 277-278. 'Learned Professions' here comprises two groups of about equal size: (1) the 'higher liberal professions' and 'holders/owners of major offices' (*grands officiers*), and (2) the 'lower liberal professions' and 'minor *officiers*'; the 'Economic Upper Middle Class' consists of '*bourgeois*', and the rubric 'Lower Middle Class' is somewhat arbitrarily assigned to 'merchants' (*marchands*). Data on secondary school leavers planning to study Law or Medicine as of 1864 are from Patrick Harrigan with Victor Negila, *Lycéens et collègiens sous le Second Empire: Etude statistique sur les fonctions sociales de l'enseignement secondaire publique d'après l'enquête de Victor Duruy (1864-65)* (Paris, 1979), table 15. The 'Economic Upper Middle Class' here also includes 29% and 22% 'property-owners' (*propriétaires*), respectively, under Law and Medicine. The figures on the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole Normale Supérieure are, respectively, from Terry Shinn, *Savoir scientifique & pouvoir social: L'Ecole polytechnique, 1794-1914* (Paris, 1980), and Robert J. Smith, *The Ecole Normale Supérieure and the Third Republic* (Albany, 1982), but are here taken directly from Ringer, *Education and Society*, pp. 175-178. At Polytechnique, the 'Economic Upper Middle Class' also includes 13% *propriétaires* and rentiers; the 'Lower Middle Class' encompasses 10% shopkeepers, 10% middle and 10% lower officials; the 'Lower/Working Class' is broadly defined as *classes populaires*. At Normale, the 'Learned Professions' include 18% secondary and university teachers; 'Economic Upper Middle Class' includes 8% *propriétaires* and large farmers; 'Lower Middle

Class' encompasses 14% middle and lower officials, 10% lower teachers, and 13% shopkeepers, artisans and lower white-collar employees; the 'Lower/Working Class' is made up of skilled workers.

NOTE TO TABLE 5

Data on Cambridge University are from Hester Jenkins and D. Caradog Jones, 'Social Class of Cambridge University Alumni of the 18th and 19th Centuries', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 1 (1950), pp. 93-116, esp. p. 99 (based on Venn, *Alumni Cantabridgienses*). Data on Oxford are from Brock and Curthoys, *History of Oxford*, vol. 7. All data in the table are for male students only. The 'Professions' for Cambridge encompass law, medicine, teaching, and public service (civil, colonial and diplomatic). 'Other, Unknown' for Cambridge encompasses only 'miscellaneous'; for Oxford under that category, 'tradesmen, etc.' increase from 1% to 5% over the whole period, while unknowns decrease from 24% to 3%.

NOTE TO TABLE 6

From R. D. Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 310-311. 'Educated Professions' includes 2% or fewer 'proprietors, gentlemen', along with 5-7% ministers; the 'Economic Upper Middle Class' consists of bankers, manufacturers, large traders, 'merchants', and managers & agents; the 'Agricultural Group' encompasses farmers, crofters & small farmers, and factors; the 'Economic Lower Middle Class' is made up of small businessmen, shopkeepers, clerks & minor officials; the 'Working Class Group' consists of artisans & skilled workers, policemen, labourers & farm servants, miners, and domestic servants & gardeners.

NOTE TO TABLE 7

From Hartmut Kaelble, *Soziale Mobilität und Chancengleichheit im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1983), pp. 204-205, based on F. T. B. Friis, 'De studerende ved Kobenhavns universitet', *Nationalokonomisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 57 (1919); S. Moberg, *Vem blev Student och vad blev Studenten?* (Malmö, 1951), except for the Prussian data, which is from Table 1. The absolute totals of samples are 2692 for Denmark (the University of Copenhagen), and 1285 for Sweden. A few teachers at private and municipal schools are included among 'Lower Officials', which generally includes teachers in state schools.

NOTES

[1] Fritz K. Ringer, *Education and Society in Modern Europe* (Bloomington, 1979).

[2] *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 81-85, 89-94, 97.

[3] See Note to Table 2.

[4] On p. 80 of *Students, Society*, Jarausch reports my conclusions in a condensed but generally accurate way;
his own formulations on pp. 122-126 are consistent with mine.

[5] See also Ringer, *Education and Society*, pp. 170-180.

The Academic Revolution Across Three Cultures: A Review Essay

W. BRUCE LESLIE

Fritz Ringer, *Fields of Knowledge: French Academic Culture in Comparative Perspective, 1890-1920* (N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Reba N. Soffer, *Discipline and Power: The University, History, and the Making of an English Elite, 1870-1930* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1994).

Academic life in the United States has been confusing and contradictory of late. On one hand, academics are more marginalized than any time since McCarthyism. Having fallen from grace since the heady days of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, academics have become whipping boys for conservative journalists and apostate professors, including the current Speaker of the House of Representatives. Increasing specialization and frequently impenetrable prose exacerbate our isolationism. On the other hand, the public avidly follows dubious college rankings in news magazines and intercollegiate athletics play a prominent role in popular culture. In a supposed "information age," the conventional wisdom posits that higher education is *sine qua non* for middle class youth. American universities anchor research centers that Secretary of Labor Robert Reich touts as America's greatest asset in a global economy. From the perspective of an Americanist, the books under review offer a comparative and historical perspective on these paradoxical relations between academic intellectuals and American society.

Fritz Ringer's *Fields of Knowledge* is a companion to his 1969 classic, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890-1933*. This new work tests the broader applicability of his findings on Germany by asking similar questions about French academic life in those same years. He contrasts the trajectory of French academic professionalization, which was just beginning to mature at the end of the century, with that of Germany where academic prestige was arguably in decline. He attributes the early German success to the fact that the formation of an intellectual middle class preceded that of an economic middle class rooted in industry. As the latter ascended later in the nineteenth century, the unique prestige and cultural power of German academics and others in the intellectual middle class declined. In effect, educational modernization preceded economic. Although Germany was the rising power of *fin de siècle* Europe and German universities were envied, Ringer found its academics longed for a disappearing golden age.

His examination of the French experience begins with the recovery from the devastating military defeat in the Franco-Prussian war. Ironically, French academics looked to Germany for a model, albeit with ambivalence. Ringer found some similari-

ties between the two countries' experience with higher education. The middle classes developed in similar ways and the proportion of the age groups in higher education were comparable (a little less than 1% in 1890 and about 2% by 1920). Both systems produced educated bureaucracies with only tenuous connections to industrialization.

However, the roles of academics in letters and sciences were about as different as the two countries' military records. The post-Napoleonic German universities were revered, attracting admirers from across Europe and the Atlantic. Professors were highly paid and respected civil servants whose primary responsibility was toward their subject area. During the same period the main function of French arts and sciences faculties was administering the secondary school leaving examination, the *baccalauréat*. Most of the governing French elite attended *grandes écoles* rather than universities. Thus members of the French elite were more likely to have a higher education, but less likely than their German counterparts to have a purely academic one.

The decades around 1900 witnessed fundamental re-evaluations of secondary and higher education in France. The hearings of the Ribot Commission of 1899 led to the decree of 1902 which supplemented the classical secondary curriculum with options requiring less Latin and Greek and more science and modern languages. These changes were designed to democratize French education, though Ringer repeatedly points out that the egalitarians assumed that intelligence was an independent variable and largely ignored the influence of family environment.

Simultaneously, French academics were shifting their focus from the *baccalauréat* examination to university work. The letters and sciences faculties began to attract financial support and students as professors adopted specialized empirical research. Emile Durkheim was the best known of this new breed. The newly invigorated faculties of letters and of sciences increased their role at the University of Paris which, in turn, was energized further by unification with the Ecole Normale Supérieure. The new ethos supported meritocracy and greater accessibility, which were expressed pedagogically by shifting curriculum away from classical texts toward more modern ones.

The new prominence of the letters and sciences faculties was double-edged. At the same time they were enhancing their professional status, the Dreyfus Affair of 1897-9 drew many of them into controversy and subsequent notoriety. From the time of Dreyfus the "intellectuals," as his academic defenders were dubbed, became suspect to the bourgeoisie who respected and valued education chiefly for its ability to instill high culture in the young and erect cultural barriers against the lower orders. Here Ringer finds echoes of German academics' alienation from the business middle class.

In *Discipline and Power* Reba Soffer examines a contemporaneous academic transformation in England—the professionalization of history at Oxford and Cambridge from 1870 to 1930. This period witnessed the appearance of a new type professional academic historian, forged by the emergence of a discipline and nurtured within an extraordinarily cloistered setting. History had previously been taught by broadly educated men who did not expect to spend a lifetime in the hallowed halls.

However, this modest progress toward professionalization fell far short of the research-centered German model. Professors had time for research, but most academic historians were tutors whose primary duty was shepherding students through university life. In this small world, prestige depended on teaching reputations and face to face interactions.

The resulting scholarship accorded well with the goal of providing leaders for the largest empire the world has ever known. Oxbridge historians produced a history that reinforced civic virtue and demonstrated the universality of British values. Unlike academics in France and Germany, British historians did not alienate the middle class. Their history did not fundamentally challenge the conventional wisdom of the middle class and it imbued imperial duty with higher meaning. No Dreyfus Affair stigmatized academic opinion. Instead of breeding critical minds, the Oxbridge historians instilled a deep sense of service, as Soffer demonstrates by tracing the career choices of the most successful students.

The book carefully chronicles the Oxbridge historical debates using previously neglected sources. But ultimately the book fails to provide of the promised sociology of knowledge. The debate among an isolated group of academics, though exhaustively delineated, is not situated in a broader social context. Turn-of-the-century England is portrayed as though it were the protected life of Oxbridge writ large; the seething class conflicts of the larger society do not appear.

Quantitative carelessness and unsupported assumptions further undermine the book. Soffer challenges Margaret Thatcher's and Martin Weiner's assertions that English higher education was hostile to business, but the accompanying data appear to support them (p. 199). The proportion of young people attending university is misstated (p. 24). Unsubstantiated assumptions assert that lack of overseas study proved "idealization" of Oxbridge by students (p. 196); that Balliol and Kings were representative colleges (p. 182); that those entering business did so with a commitment to public service (pp. 201-2); and that differences between the old and new worlds explain the much slower acceptance of social sciences in England than in the U.S. (p. 208). The internal story is told well, but the broader context is flawed.

Both books contain considerable information that will delight specialists in English, French, and German higher education. *Fields of Knowledge*, building on Ringer's earlier classic and ranging across two cultures, will make a mark. However, to a non-specialist the greatest service of these two works' is in offering suggestions for understanding the complex paths of academic professionalization across Western societies.

Both wrestle with the interaction between "modernization" and higher education. Taken together, they provide a comparative framework that fine-tunes our understanding of the role of the middle classes. Ringer makes the intriguing distinction between an intellectual middle class (his "mandarins") and a business-

technical middle class. This split appears to have been most dichotomous in Germany, less so in France, still less in Soffer's England, and narrowest in the United States. Ringer's comparison of France and Germany highlights the importance of being sensitive to variations in the relation of higher education to the economy varied at different stages of development.

The books also suggest that the middle classes developed quite differently in each country: a single model does not fit all. In *Decline of the German Mandarins* Ringer depicted the emergence of an intellectual middle class decades before the business-technical middle class. The universities emerging from the post-Napoleonic reforms produced an educated class and its inclusion within the German civil service sheltered it. In Britain and France the civil services became a primary market for university graduates later. The United States offers a markedly different model in which private corporations were the first large bureaucracies. In addition, American colleges and universities were more rooted in local, state, and regional economies than their European counterparts, which explains the much greater funding and public support for higher education in America.

The German model of academic professionalization was envied by many in France, England, and America, but the different social positions of academics mediated the form of its adoption. In France, academics in letters and sciences exercised influence by controlling the *baccalauréat*, but the prestige of the *grandes écoles* marginalized their role in higher education until after the war. In England, Soffer's Oxbridge historians lived in and controlled a small world in which reputations could be built on success in teaching and promoting civic virtue. American academics had teaching obligations closer to those at Oxbridge, but the creation of well-funded research universities connected professional prestige to research in a way that echoed the German model.

The books suggest remarkably different fates for academic cultures across societies. German academics declined from their early lofty status late in the nineteenth century. French academic culture developed later but the Dreyfus Affair instigated a similar alienation. The Oxbridge faculty became pillars of civic virtue and avoided public suspicion. In America academic professionalization shifted the reference groups of professors from local elites to national professions.

There was always an intricate relationship between academic ideals and group protection and promotion. The French, German, and English academic cultures, like the American, fought fiercely over the values of the classics and other texts, the virtues of specialization versus breadth, and the relation of the curriculum to contemporary society. Each debate reflected ideals and self interest; these books help us understand their interaction.

Clearly, the stronger the pedagogical and intellectual commitment to critical thinking in higher education, the greater the danger of middle class suspicion, if not rejection, of academics. Re-inforcing a broadly accepted sense of civic virtue, in the manner of Oxbridge historians, brings greater acceptance from the middle classes than critical postures, which are second nature to academic generations teethed on dissent in such celebrated controversies as the Dreyfus Affair or the Vietnam War.

Selected Recent Dissertations in the History of Higher Education

The dissertations listed here are selected from titles supplied by UMI Dissertation Services. Copies of most titles can be ordered by calling 800-521-0600, extension 3785. The abstracts have been abridged (with apologies to the authors) to convey the general thrust of the study. Since these titles were compiled from a key-word search, some relevant titles may have been overlooked. To achieve more complete coverage, I invite readers to encourage recipients of doctorates in the history of higher education to send the *Annual* an abstract of their dissertation for possible inclusion in this section.

R.G.

Aldridge, Martha Jean. *The Founding of Blue Mountain College*. University of Iowa, Ph.D., 1994, pp: 179.

Order No. AAC 9433597.

In the postbellum atmosphere of poverty and dispair, General Mark Perry Lowrey founded a women's Baptist college "on Christian and scientific principles." Blue Mountain college opened with a faculty consisting of members of his family. The county paid the teachers during the regular four months of public education. Lowrey also relied on barter and land sales to accumulate assets. The curriculum was almost identical to that of Mississippi College, the Baptist college for men. The young women studied history, science, philosophy, French, Latin, Greek, and music. Blue Mountain remained family owned until the 1930s, and a Lowrey was president until 1960.

Barnes, Sarah Virginia. *Defining the University: A Comprehensive Perspective on the Process of Creating Institutional Identity at the University of Manchester and Northwestern University*. Northwestern University, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 552.

Order No. AAC 9537388.

In 1851 civic-minded citizens in Manchester, England, and Chicago, Illinois, created universities devoted to serving the needs of dynamic regions isolated from traditional sources of learning and culture. The experiences of the two institutions reveal much about the emergence of the modern university in England and America. Northwestern by the 1930s succeeded in transforming itself from a provincial denominational college into a modern urban university. Manchester, on the other hand, although intended as an alternative model, succumbed instead to the dominating influence of Oxbridge.

For Northwestern, the interwar years represented a period of optimism and a renewed sense of purpose after decades of caution and uncertainty. Manchester, in contract, suffered from declining morale and loss of identity, despite the many achievements of its past.

These differences in outcome were affected by the transformation of the social functions of higher education, the professionalization of academic careers, the emergence of a national hierarchy of institutions, and the changing relationship between metropolis and province. Particular attention is also given to the history of women at Manchester and Northwestern, and to the institutions' architecture.

Halfin, Igal. *The Construction of the Workers' Intelligentsia: 'Proletarianism' of Soviet Universities in the 1920s*. Columbia University, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 998.
Order No. AAC 9522862.

In the 1920s, the Bolsheviks attempted to amalgamate in a "new type of student" the characteristics of the intellectual and the worker, thus creating the "Communist New Man." Bolshevik social engineering was inspired by an eschatological sense of history. Class criteria were valued above educational criteria in examination of applicants. Students discovered to belong to the old-type intelligentsia were periodically purged. In the 'genre of communist autobiography,' informed by Communist eschatology, writers had to claim to have reached Communist consciousness and narrate their life story up to that moment of 'rebirth' as a process of accretion of class consciousness—a process similar to Christian confession. Contemporary Soviet novels about student Communists portrayed the dangers of mental labor and the "degeneration" communists were exposed to due to their prolonged stay at the universities.

Kemeny, Paul Charles. *The Changing Nature and Role of Religious Instruction and Worship at Princeton University, 1868-1928: An Institutional, Educational, and Social Examination*. Princeton Theological Seminary, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 437.
Order No. DA9530828.

During the presidency of James McCosh (1868-1888), mandatory evangelical Protestant religious instruction and worship enjoyed a central role in collegiate education. But, as the college took steps toward academic specialization and the professionalization of the faculty, the importance of traditional religious activities and interests began to be displaced. During the presidency of Francis L. Patton (1888-1902), doubts about the intellectual credibility of the evangelical faith and suspicions about the suitability of the college's traditional educational philosophy, brought the institution's religious heritage into conflict with its public purpose. Woodrow Wilson (1902-1910), abolished all practices that were considered sectarian—changing mandatory religious

classes into electives and reducing mandatory chapel attendance. These dramatic changes were a course of constant controversy during John G. Hibben's administration (1912-1932), and precipitated a major reevaluation of the nature and role of religion within the university in 1928 when the university adopted an almost entirely voluntary form of religious education.

Marshall, Gloria Jacqueline. *The Survival of Colleges in America: A Census of Four-Year Colleges in the United States, 1636-1973.* Stanford University, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 351.
Order No. AAC 9535631.

This thesis develops a census of American colleges and universities for the period from 1636 to 1973 and explores some features of the survival and failure of those schools revealed by the census. It reveals a heterogeneous, slowly changing mix of schools, changing both by adaptation of individual institutions and by the effects of differences in the characteristics of schools which failed from those of schools that survived. For the most part, the portrait is one of endurance, particularly among public institutions and, perhaps surprisingly, among Black institutions.

Meyer, Daniel Lee. *The Chicago Faculty and the University Ideal, 1891-1929.* University of Chicago, Ph.D., 1994, pp: 538, 2 Vols.
Order No. AAC 9501523.

The university that William Rainey Harper devised for Chicago was to be ambitiously broad in its reach, incorporating collegiate instruction, graduate work, professional schools, extension work, and scholarly publishing. Influenced by the appeal of science and his own success as a scholar, Harper designated research as the predominate function of the university. Yet he hoped to move beyond the achievements of existing institutions to create a true academic community defined by shared social values and an intellectual unity of spirit.

Many faculty, however, turned away from the balanced synthesis Harper hoped to achieve and focused their energies instead on the still-evolving concept of the research university. Throughout Harper's tenure and the administrations of his three immediate successors as president, the tension between institutional values and individual professional ambition shaped faculty debates on a range of academic policy issues: the organization of departments, the restructuring of university ruling bodies, the planning of library facilities, and the coordination of support for research. In the decade after World War I, faculty members became increasingly concerned about the university's diffusion of purpose. Searching for a new integrative principal centered on research, leaders of the Chicago faculty fashioned arguments for a corporate allegiance that transcended the institution. The university ideal survived, not in Harper's vision of a

cohesive and sustaining community, but in the continuing oscillation of rigorous argument and sustained competition among fields, specializations, schools, and systems of through.

Morrissey, Susan Katharine. *More 'Stories about the New People': Student Radicalism, Higher Education, and Social Identity in Russia, 1899-1921.* University of California, Berkeley, Ph.D., 1993, pp: 507.

Order No. AAC 9430619.

Student radicalism in early twentieth-century Russia was the ethos of a unique group, the studenchestvo or student corporation. Starting from the first nation-wide student strike of 1899, the student movement culminated during the fall 1905, when higher educational institutions were transformed into primary sites of the urban revolution. In the aftermath of the Revolution, the student movement lost its internal direction and former importance.

As students strived to reformulate the ethos of the studenchestvo after 1907, public attention shifted to such personal issues as student experiences in the city, a perceived epidemic of student suicide, student activism during war and revolution, and the history of women students. The political and cultural tensions within Russian urban society are revealed through discussions about students and the studenchestvo.

Nidiffer, Jana. *More than 'A Wise and Pious Matron': The Professionalization of the Position of Dean of Women, 1901 to 1918.* Harvard University, Ed.D., 1994, pp: 312.

Order No. AAC 9432420.

Between the years of 1833 and 1920, the fledgling position of dean of women evolved through five phases of professionalization. During the first phase of professionalization (1833-1892), coeducation emerged and female administrators were dormitory matrons responsible for chaperonage and discipline.

In the second phase (1892-1902), Marion Talbot (University of Chicago, 1892-1925), provided the first model for the potential of the position, articulated a view of women integral to the intellectual foundation of the profession, and organized the first Conference of Deans. Three women whose working lives correspond to the third, fourth, and fifth phases (1902-1918), comprise the essence of this study.

Mary Bidwell Breed (Indiana University, 1901-1906) was obligated to attend only to the most urgent needs of women. Breed's leadership in the early Conferences of Deans in 1903 shifted the focus of the Conference towards deans in public institutions, the sector that produced the leadership of the new profession until the 1920s.

Ada Comstock (University of Minnesota, 1906-1912) illustrated a systematic, more "scientific" approach to the job, which marked a growing professional maturity among the deans, and defined and articulated a field of expertise for deans.

Lois Mathews (University of Wisconsin, 1911-1918) helped bring to fruition the more tangible aspects of professionalization, especially in the area of professional training for aspiring deans. She invited aspirants to her office and acted as mentor, taught the first course on women in administration, organized the first state-wide conference of deans, and wrote the first book in the professional literature, *The Dean of Women*.

Peterkin, Darryl Lynn. *"Lux, Libertas, and Learning": The First State University and the Transformation of North Carolina, 1789-1816.* Princeton University, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 307.

Order No. DA9532849.

Federalists in the North Carolina General Assembly chartered the University of North Carolina in 1789 hoping that the first state university would provide North Carolina with well-educated men who would use their talents to preserve the American Republic, but also desperately seeking to reform North Carolina's image as a benighted wilderness.

The early trustees of the University of North Carolina portrayed themselves as nonpartisan benefactors of North Carolina society. However, they found their efforts to bring the university into existence hampered by the poverty of the state, the apathy of the general populace toward education, and, especially after 1800, the hostility of the state legislature. An ability to retain a qualified faculty and recurring student rebellions were perennial problems.

In 1804, the trustees appointed Joseph Caldwell as the first president of the university. During his tenure, the university emerged from a season of fragility into an era of stability.

By 1816 the university had become an important mechanism for socializing the young men of North Carolina. It had taken individuals from various parts of the state and exposed them to a common pattern of ideas and experiences. Its graduates entered adulthood with the mission of perpetuating a conservative society founded upon vast inequality. Thus, the University of North Carolina achieved its goal of transforming North Carolina from a howling frontier into a state that resembled the rest of nineteenth-century America.

Pugh, Willard J., III. *The Beginnings of Research at The University of Chicago.* The University of Chicago, Ph.D., 1990, pp: 830. 3 Vols.

Order No. AAG0569610.

In 1892, president William Rainey Harper declared that the University of Chicago would "make the work of investigation primary, the work of giving instruction

secondary." Following the examples of Johns Hopkins University and Clark University, the University of Chicago became the third member of a new order of universities founded on the ideals of graduate education and faculty research. This study describes the beginnings of academic research in the United States and the beginnings of the University of Chicago, before discussing faculty research in fourteen departments: Philosophy, History, Political Economy, Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology, Latin, English, Romance Languages, Mathematics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Geology, Physics, and Zoology.

Reynolds, Katherine C. *Visions and Vanities: The Educational Biography of John Andrew Rice*. The University of Utah, Ph.D., 1994, pp: 292.
Order No. AAC 9433593.

John Andrew Rice (1888-1968) was a visionary and controversial educator best known as the founder of Black Mountain College (1933-1956). His experiences as a student and teacher tested his ideas about the centrality of artistic experience in liberal education, the value of experiential learning, the contribution of emotional development to educational aims, and the need for lean and loosely structured college administration.

Rice had a profound and lifelong influence on many students whose educations were greatly enhanced by the philosophy Rice put into practice at Black Mountain College. Personal tendencies toward willful arrogance and insensitive candor, however, turned away many students and colleagues, and resulted in a career in education that ended abruptly and fell far short of its full potential.

Sellers, Robin Jeanne. *Femina Perfecta: A History of Florida State College for Women, 1905-1947*. The Florida State University, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 316.
Order No. DA9527940.

Florida State College for Women existed for only forty-two years, but in that short time it became the second-largest state college for women in the United States; nearly 10,000 women graduated from the school. Among state-supported women's colleges, it was the first to be placed on the approved list of colleges and universities of the Association of American Universities. Florida State College for Women offered the women of Florida a superior liberal arts education for minimal cost. Its solid academic program provided a substantial foundation for the achievements of its successor, Florida State University.

Strong, Susan Rumsey. *"The Most Natural Way in the World:" Coeducation at Nineteenth-Century Alfred University.* University of Rochester, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 596. Order No. Pending.

Recent historians have asserted that the first coeducational colleges were conservative ventures. Their educational philosophies lay well within separate spheres ideology, assigning women a private, domestic role, subordinate to men's public responsibilities.

In contrast to this conservative model, at Alfred University, founded in western New York as a select school in 1836, chartered as an academy in 1843, and receiving its university charter in 1857, cooperative gender roles in a homogeneous farming community joined with belief in the natural rights of women to create an egalitarian model of higher education.

Review of the first fifty years of Alfred University's history suggests that shared labor, a dense kinship system, a separatist denomination (Seventh Day Baptist), independence from that denomination, liberal theology, and a secular mission were characteristics supporting an explicit ideology of equality.

This unusual environment was created by a combination of factors: the farming origins of most students; the school's mission to educate the "poor"; its "special work" in training teachers, and the accompanying subordination of ministerial training; cultural and familial values of the founding denomination; regional and denominational commitment to reform; a "family model" of coeducation; and President Jonathan Allen's (1867-92) personal commitment to women's rights.

Alfred University's history suggests that diversity, not uniformity or conformity, must be emphasized in examining antebellum and mid-nineteenth-century higher education for women.

Tocco, Martha Caroline. *School Bound: Women's Higher Education in Nineteenth-Century Japan.* Stanford University, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 316. Order No. DA9525892.

This work examines the beginnings of three women's colleges, founded between 1874 and 1900. In Tokugawa period (1600-1868) already-established patterns of women's education enabled many to master the cannon of higher education in informal settings. Women's education conformed to Tokugawa understandings of appropriately gendered social structures.

After 1868, Japan's new government relied on Western educational practice to implement the country's first nationwide system of formal education. America provided the primary model for reshaping women's formal education. But late-nineteenth-century American institutions also reflected America's understanding of female gender.

These two gender systems and the educational ideologies that developed within them each constrained and supported women's higher education. Rather than competing, this study argues that Japanese educational practices interacted with American ones to shape Meiji educational policy and institutional development, including the development of formal institutions for women's higher education.

Yu, Miin-ling. *Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow, 1925-1930.* New York University, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 317.

Order No. DA9528545.

Among Chinese students studying abroad in the first half of the twentieth century, the students who went to the Soviet Union had the most influential impact on shaping the course of modern China. This study of Sun Yat-sen University probes the interaction between Chinese students and Soviet politics and culture to explore the potential and limits of cultural transmission.

Five years after the establishment of the university, the Comintern claimed it had failed to achieve the goal of training political workers for revolution in China. However, both the Nationalist Party and the Chinese Communist Party greatly benefited from the Soviet educated students in their knowledge and abilities in party organization, propaganda and intelligence work. Preeminent figures, such as Yang Shangkun, Jiang Jingguo and Deng Xiaoping, were graduates from the university.

Walton, Andrea. *Women at Columbia: A Study of Power and Empowerment in the Lives of Six Scholars.* Columbia University, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 478.

Order No. AAC 9533685.

This study examines the circumstances shaping the lives and careers of six women scholars who were affiliated with Columbia University during its formative decades as a coeducational, metropolitan research university. The founding of Barnard College, in 1889, and the Barnard-Columbia connection were instrumental to the advent of graduate coeducation in the 1890s. The entrance of women into Barnard's faculty by the 1920s created a niche for a few women in the Columbia graduate faculties of arts and sciences. Part I considers the salience of gender, the interaction between Columbia and New York City, market forces, and elements of institutional competition in the shaping of Columbia's decisionmaking regarding opportunities for women.

Part II presents the biographies of six women: color theorist-logician Christine Ladd-Franklin (1847-1930); anthropologists Elsie Clews Parsons (1875-1941), Ruth Benedict (1887-1948), and Margaret Mead (1901-1978); the physicist Lucy Hayner (1898-1971); and literary scholar Marjorie Hope Nicolson (1900-1982).

While the institutional history focuses largely on the ways Columbia limited or circumscribed women's advances, the biographies illustrate the types of power that were available to women and the ways they used it to forge careers.

Books Received

Caplan, Paula J. *Lifting a Ton of Feathers: A Woman's Guide to Surviving in the Academic World*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Gidney, R.D. and Millar, W.P.J. *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

Godson, Susan H. ... [et al.] *The College of William and Mary: A History*. Williamsburg (VA): King and Queen Press, 1993.

Hobbs, Catherine (Ed.) *Nineteenth Century Women Learn to Write*. Charlottesville (VA): University Press of Virginia, 1995.

Johnson, Gordon (Ed.) *University Politics: F. M. Cornford's Cambridge and His Advice to the Young Academic Politician*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Mason, Richard (Ed.) *Cambridge Minds*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1994.

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Palmieri, Patricia Ann. *In Adamless Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley*. New Haven (CT): Yale University Press, 1995.

Ridder-Symoens, Hilde de. *A History of the University in Europe: Volume I, Universities in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Ringer, Fritz. *Fields of Knowledge: French Academic Culture in Comparative Perspective, 1890-1920*. Cambridge (UK): Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Ritterband, Paul & Wechsler, Harold S. *Jewish Learning in American Universities: The First Century*. Bloomington (IN): Indiana University Press, 1994.

Rohrs, Hermann. *The Classical German Concept of the University and its Influence on Higher Education in the United States*. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang, 1995.

Sloan, Douglas. *Faith and Knowledge: Mainline Protestantism and American Higher Education*. Louisville (KY): Westminster John Knox Press, 1994.

About the Contributors

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